

THE GROUNDWORK OF
BRITISH HISTORY

SECTION III

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THE GROUNDWORK OF BRITISH HISTORY

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Edition in Three Sections

Section III, 1714-1921

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PREFACE

In giving the name *The Groundwork of British History* to this book, the writers seek to make clear the plan on which it is constructed.

If in reading it a boy comes to carry with him some idea of the origin and sequence and relation of events, and gains some notion of history *as a whole*, he is beginning to build on what may be called a groundwork. Much will remain to be learnt and many details to be added, but these will fall naturally into their places, if the mind is already prepared with a groundwork or general plan on which to fit them.

If, on the other hand, there is no such groundwork in his mind, additional knowledge may merely produce additional confusion. Every teacher in history is only too familiar with the painful method of "learning"—so called—by which a boy will get up some pages of a book so thoroughly as to be able to answer every question on the pages set, and yet have no grip of his history as a whole. Take him "outside the lesson" and he is at once bewildered and lost—with perhaps a suppressed sense of injustice; feeling that to ask questions "outside the lesson" is not playing the game.

Such a perplexed learner often deserves more sympathy than he gets. He dutifully burdens his memory with all the names and dates and facts which he finds on the pages prescribed, not knowing which are the most important, not having been taught to connect events with their past causes or their future developments. Now and

again his memory, being unsupported by any general sense of *where he is*, plays him false, and he produces those grotesque onslaughts upon chronology and probability with which we are all acquainted.

It is to meet such difficulties that our book is directed. Our aim is to provide the reader with a groundwork at once solid and broad-based, upon which increasing knowledge may gradually be built; to trace out the main threads of British history, omitting small and unfruitful details; to treat events in logical sequence by pursuing one subject at a time; and to concentrate the mind upon what was the chief policy or course of action in each age.

In order to do this the book strives to encourage the faculties of understanding and reason rather than mere memory; and to make boys think why things happened and what the consequences were. For example, the history of the thirteenth century is grouped round the Making of Parliament; the Hundred Years War is followed from its beginnings in Edward III's reign to its end in Henry VI's without interrupting the story to narrate events which, though contemporary, had no logical connection with it; the baronial troubles culminating in the Wars of the Roses are treated as a whole, beginning with the overthrow of the legitimate line of Richard II by the house of Lancaster, and passing through the troubles of Henry IV at home to the final outburst in Henry VI's reign. The history of Scotland is more fully dealt with than is usual in school histories: the way in which Scotland was united, the fortunes of the house of Bruce, the misfortunes of the house of Stuart, the cause of the Scottish Reformation, are treated in a continuous series of chapters.

The method is the same as that followed in Mr. Warner's *Brief Survey of British History*, but the book is intended for those who have got beyond the elementary outlines, and who require a general view of the broadening stream of our national history.

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THE GROUNDWORK OF BRITISH HISTORY

SECTION III

XXXV. Foreign Affairs and the Empire, 1714-63

With the accession of George I our foreign politics were affected by a new influence. George I and his successors—till the accession of Queen Victoria—were not only Kings of England, but Electors of Hanover. Eng-^{The influence of Hanover.}lishmen are perhaps apt to regard Hanover, in the elder Pitt's words, as a "despicable German Electorate"; but in reality it was amongst the foremost of German States, and had important naval positions in the North Sea. The devotion which George I and George II felt for Hanover increased the complications and difficulties of our foreign policy during their rule; and there was always a danger of Great Britain being drawn into wars to protect Hanoverian interests. Indeed, very soon after George I

came to the throne, demonstrations, which were made by the British fleet to further the ambitions of Hanover, nearly produced a war, first with Sweden, and then with Russia.

737 War, however, was averted, and for twenty-six years after the signing of the Treaty of Utrecht—from 1713 to 1739—Great Britain enjoyed a period of repose. Both France and Great Britain wished to uphold the Treaty of Utrecht, and for a great part of this period each country was ruled by a peace-loving minister, *Walpole* being chief minister in Great Britain from 1721-42, and *Fleury* being responsible for French policy from 1720-29. Hence not only were there no hostilities, but even at times an alliance or informal co-operation between these two powers—a very unusual state of affairs in the eighteenth century.

On the other hand, the rulers of Austria and Spain were dissatisfied with the Treaty of Utrecht. Our chief difficulties were with *Spain*. In 1718, Great Britain prevented her from obtaining possession of Sicily by demolishing her fleet off *Cape Passaro*;¹ whilst, in 1728, an alliance which Spain had made with Austria, in the hope of recovering Gibraltar and Minorca, was checkmated by a counter-alliance between Great Britain and France. A few years later trade controversies with Spain became acute. The Spaniards jealously tried to exclude all other nations from trading with their enormous possessions in South America, though they failed to develop the trade on their own account. But British ships did a great deal of illicit trade with Spanish America, especially through the solitary British ship which under the terms of the Treaty of Utrecht was allowed to be sent there annually. This ship, whilst in the Spanish port, was emptied of its cargo each day, and refilled under cover of night by small boats from other ships outside the harbour.

The Spaniards, not unnaturally incensed at these proceedings,

¹ The Spanish fleet of eighteen sail was utterly destroyed by an English fleet of twenty-one sail under Admiral Byng. Part of the Spanish fleet fled, and took refuge inshore. A Captain Walton was sent with some ships in pursuit, and his dispatch announcing his success was the shortest on record. It is said to have run as follows: "Sir, we have taken and destroyed all the Spanish ships which were upon the coast: the number as per margin. Respectfully, &c., G. Walton."

had retaliated by searching on the high seas British ships whose destination might be Spanish America, and treating British sailors with great brutality. Consequently, British feeling was roused, and the politicians opposed to Walpole, Jenkins's ear. then the chief minister, thinking they had got a good party cry, took care to fan the indignation. Finally, anger reached boiling-point when a certain Captain Jenkins produced his ear in a bottle before the House of Commons, and asserted that it had been cut off by the Spaniards. He was asked "what his feelings were when he found himself in the hands of such barbarians", and he answered in words which were probably suggested to him beforehand, but which had the effect desired by the opposition of stimulating patriotic fervour: "I commended my soul to my God, and my cause to my country."¹ Walpole, unable to withstand popular opinion, after futile negotiations with Spain, declared war in 1739.

The year 1739 ushered in a new and prolonged period of conflict. The war with Spain, somewhat discreditable to our honour in its origin, was discreditable to our The war with Spain, 1739. arms in its conduct. An attempt on Cartagena, in Spanish America, was a miserable failure, and our only success was a voyage round the world undertaken by Anson, who captured an enormous amount of treasure on the west coast of South America.²

But meanwhile, in 1740, another Succession War broke out. This had to do with Austria. Charles VI, the emperor and ruler of the vast Austrian dominions—known to us already, in the Spanish Succession War, as the Arch-duke Charles—had one child, a daughter, Maria Theresa. He persuaded nearly all the European powers to recognize an arrangement known as the Pragmatic Sanction, by The Austrian Succession War, 1740-8.

¹ It has been doubted whether Jenkins ever really lost an ear at all, or, if he did, it has been asserted that he lost it in an English pillory. According to Jenkins's story, the ear had been cut off in 1731 by a ferocious Spanish captain, by name Fandino, who was himself captured by a British frigate eleven years later after a desperate resistance.

² Anson succeeded in capturing the great treasure-ship that sailed every year from Manila to Acapulco. The treasure he secured, worth some £500,000, was paraded through the city, on its way to the Bank of England, in a procession of thirty-two wagons, the ship's company marching alongside with colours flying and band playing.

a victory from the jaws of defeat.¹ As a consequence the French troops retired from Germany, and the situation was relieved.

The coalition of German powers, however, soon broke up. Prussia again took up arms against Austria, and Carteret, owing to his unpopularity at home, retired from office. Meanwhile, a French force of 80,000 men, under the famous ^{Fontenoy, 1745} Marshal Saxe, invaded the Austrian Netherlands; and, despite the efforts of the British, it was everywhere victorious. In 1745 the British were defeated at Fontenoy, though the infantry won great glory by a magnificent charge, which was finally checked by the Irish Brigade serving in the French army. In the same year the rising of the Young Pretender (see p. 484) led to the withdrawal of the British troops from the Continent. The French proceeded to occupy nearly the whole of the Austrian Netherlands, and when the British returned two years later they met with no success.

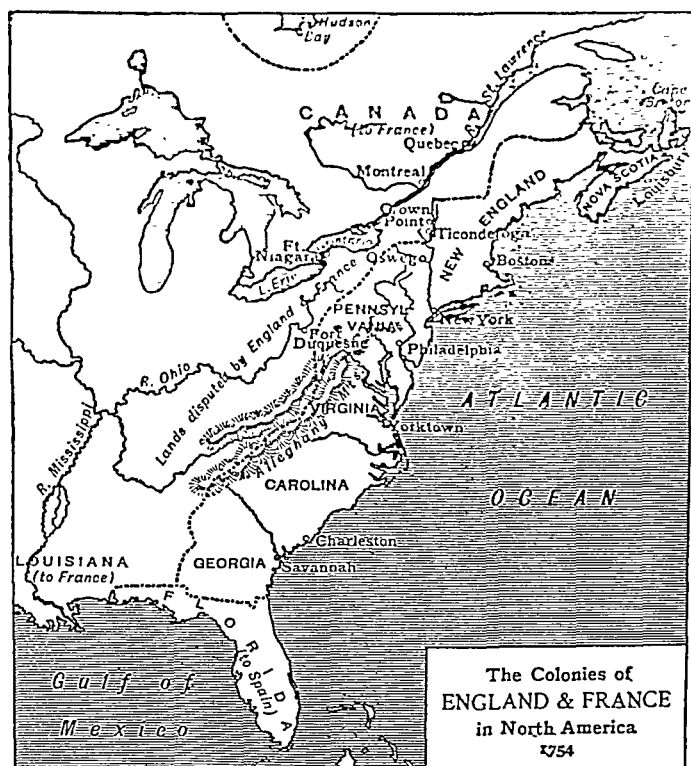
The war was ended in 1748 by the Treaty of *Aix-la-Chapelle*. Maria Theresa was left in possession of the Austrian dominions, including the Austrian Netherlands, though Prussia ^{Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, 1748} kept Silesia; otherwise no change of importance took place. The war, however, so far as Great Britain and France were concerned, was not merely European. The French took Madras in India. We took Louisburg, the great port of Cape Breton Island, the Gibraltar, as it has been called, of the New World. These two places were exchanged at the peace. Concerning the right of search, the original cause of the war with Spain, nothing was said at all.

The Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle settled nothing permanently. It was only a truce, and a few years later, in 1756, a mightier war was to break out—the Seven Years' War. The rival ambitions of Great Britain and France in America and in India had to be adjusted—and the sword alone could do that. Something has already been said about our colonies in North America. The British colonies—

The British and French in North America.

¹ George II's horse, frightened by the crackle of musketry, ran away with him at the beginning of the battle; the king, therefore, fought during the remainder of the time on foot, saying that he could trust his legs not to run away with him. He behaved with the utmost bravery, encouraging his soldiers: "Steady, my boys; fire, my brave boys, give them fire; they will soon run." In honour of the victory, Handel composed a Te Deum.

thirteen in number—stretched along the shores of the Atlantic. To the north of them lay the French possession of Canada, to the south and west of them French Louisiana. The French ambitions were brilliant in conception. Just as in our own times the French desired a sphere of influence that would stretch



from the east to the west of Africa, so in the eighteenth century they wished to join Louisiana and Canada by occupying the land behind and to the west of the British settlements. At first sight the French ambitions might seem absurd; for the French colonists in Canada only numbered some 60,000, and the English colonists were nearly a million and a half. But the French settlements were compact, whilst those of the English were

scattered. The French colony was united, and autocratically governed by capable French officials. The thirteen English colonies, on the other hand, were entirely separate in government, and often ill-disposed to one another; and all attempts to combine them for joint action had hitherto been complete failures. Moreover river valleys favoured the French designs. Throw a cork into the River Alleghany at its source near Lake Erie, and it will eventually find its way—if it meets with no obstacles—by the River Ohio and the Mississippi, to the Gulf of Mexico. Mountains—the Alleghany Mountains—on the other hand, interposed a natural barrier to the British expansion westward.

After the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle events moved fast in America. The French seemed likely to achieve their ambitions. South of Montreal they had already built, on the shores of Lake Champlain, two forts at *Crown Point* The French forts. and at *Ticonderoga*. They now developed the building of a line of forts from north to south to secure the river valleys. Meantime the British, owing partly to the disunion of the colonies themselves and partly to the procrastination of the home government, had done nothing except the building of *Oswego* on the south side of Lake Ontario. Then in 1754 came the building by the French, near the western boundary of Pennsylvania and at the junction of three rivers, *Fort Duquesne*, of *Fort Duquesne*; and the last link, it has been ¹⁷⁵⁴ said, in the French chain of forts was forged. Its building at once led to war in America. Two attempts to capture it were made, the first under Washington in 1754, and the second under Braddock in 1755; and both were disastrous.¹ The outlook for the French in America was bright, when in 1756 formal war was declared between Great Britain and France.

But in the east as well as in the west, in India as well as in America, French and British ambitions clashed. Though on the west coast Bombay belonging to the English East India company and Mahé belonging to the French East India com-

¹ Braddock, who had pushed forward with twelve hundred men, was caught in an ambush some seven miles from the fort, and lost nearly two-thirds of his force. He himself fought most bravely, and, after having five horses shot under him, was mortally wounded, and died next day.

pany lay far apart, their factories on the east coast were in the same districts. In the north the English Calcutta lay close to the French Chandernagore, whilst in the south the French Pondicherry lay between, though at some distance from, Madras and Fort St. David. Both companies had reached a point when for their future commercial development some interference with the politics of the interior was probable. It was, however, the condition of India itself which made that interference inevitable.

India, it must be remembered, is not a country like France or Germany, but a large continent. Its area is almost equal to, and its population is greater than, that of all Europe if Russia is excluded. The inhabitants of this vast continent speak some fifty languages, and they vary in colour from the light brown of the Northern Pathan to the black of the Southern Tamil; and they are divided into races which, in the words of a recent viceroy, differ from one another "as much as the Esquimaux from the Spaniard or the Irishman from the Turk". It may be urged that the Hindoo religion gives a certain unifying influence; but it must be borne in mind that the Mohammedans—to say nothing of other religious sects such as the Parsees and Sikhs—constitute a very strong minority.¹ Moreover the Hindoos are themselves divided into some 3000 castes, the members of which have little social intercourse with one another; and their religion, it has been said, exhibits the worship of innumerable gods and an endless diversity of ritual. The religion of the well-educated Brahmin—the highest caste—is a form of Deism; the religion of the ordinary Hindoo peasant is little more than the worship of local deities, and even of animals such as the cow and the monkey, or of anything unusual, such as a peculiarly shaped stone or tree.

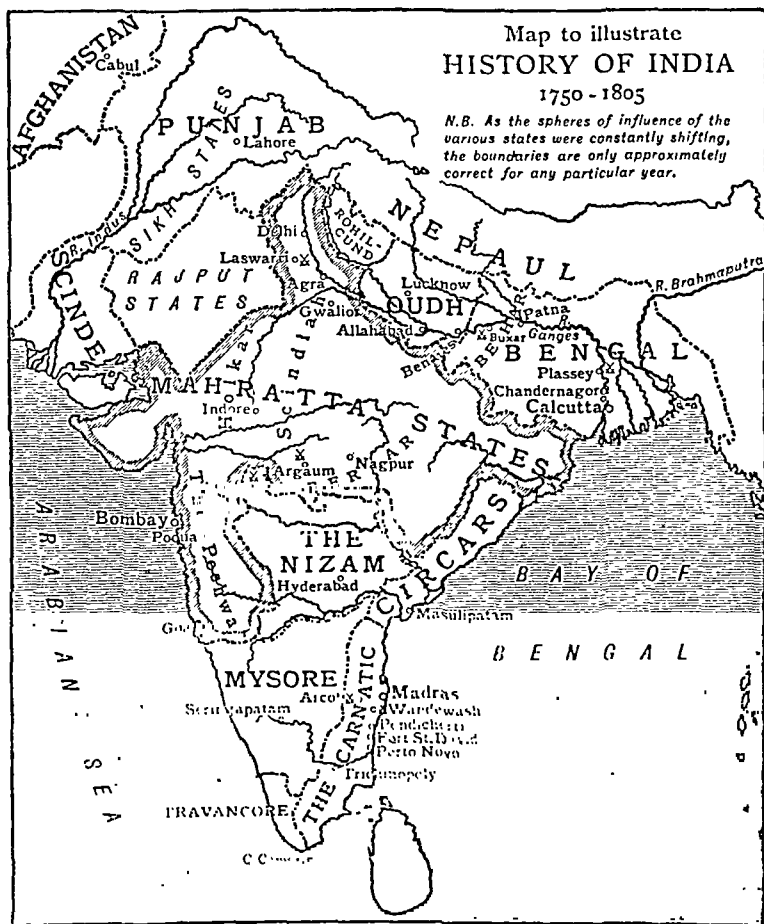
The great Mohammedan dynasty, generally known as the Mogul dynasty, had, for a time, brought nearly the whole of India under its control. Established in the sixteenth century, it had gradually extended its power, especially under *Akbar*—the contemporary

Its anarchical
condition
after 1707.

¹ According to the last census, the Hindoos number at the present time about 70 per cent of the total population.

ANARCHY IN INDIA

of Elizabeth—and *Aurangzeb*. But with the death of the last-named in 1707 the empire had begun to break asunder and India fell into a condition of anarchy. From the north the



King of Persia came in 1739 and sacked Delhi, the Mogul capital. The Afghans after six successive invasions established themselves in the Punjab, until finally they gave way, towards the end of the century, to the Sikhs. In the north-east the

rulers of Bengal and Oudh were practically independent. In Central India, the Mahrattas—Hindoo tribes—made expeditions north and east from their two great centres at Poona and at Nagpur. In the south the Nizam of Hyderabad was the greatest potentate, and the Nabob of the Carnatic in the south-east was his vassal. In the south-west the ruler of Mysore was shortly to possess formidable power.

In the constant rivalries between these various States lay the opportunity for European interference. And in 1741 a Frenchman, by name *Dupleix*, of exceptional ability and ambition, was appointed Governor of Pondicherry. He determined to take advantage, in the south, of this state of affairs. During the War of the Austrian Succession he devoted his energies to the capture of Madras, only to be obliged to give it back at the peace. But there followed disputed successions at Hyderabad and in the Carnatic. Dupleix and the British each supported a rival pair of candidates. One of the French candidates triumphed at Hyderabad; the other secured the whole Carnatic save Trichinopoly, and even that place was besieged and seemed likely to fall.

It was at this critical moment in 1751 that the position was saved by *Robert Clive*. The son of a small Shropshire squire, he had—after a somewhat turbulent boyhood—gone to India to act as a clerk in the East India Company.¹ When Dupleix attacked Madras, he had volunteered for service, and both then and subsequently made his mark as a soldier. He now proposed, as a diversion, an attack upon *Arcot*, the capital. His proposal was accepted, and with a small force he succeeded in capturing it. This bold action had the effect he desired, and the siege of Trichinopoly was raised. But this was by no means all. He had now to defend Arcot until relief came. With two hundred and thirty men he held on for fifty days, though he had to defend two

Dupleix in
India, 1741-54.
Clive and the
Siege of Arcot,
1751.

¹ He was, even in early life, of a somewhat pugnacious disposition, and, at the age of six, was described as "out of measure addicted to fighting", whilst, later on, the shopkeepers of Market Drayton, so tradition says, used to pay "a small tribute of apples and halfpence" to Clive and a band of his schoolfellows in order to preserve their windows from molestation. Clive, when he reached India, was for some time profoundly unhappy, and tried to commit suicide, but the pistol did not fire.

breaches, the one of fifty and the other of ninety feet, against an army of ten thousand men. From the successful defence of Arcot, as Macaulay says, dates the renown of the British arms in the East. We had shown that we were not mere pedlars but fighters as well. Further successes led to the triumph of the British candidate in the Carnatic, and in 1754 Dupleix was recalled. Yet, as in Canada, the struggle was not over; and the Seven Years' War was to prove as important for its effects in India as for those in Canada.

The Seven Years' War did not begin formally till 1756. But, as we have seen, hostilities between Great Britain and France had occurred in America and in India long before the war broke out in Europe. The capture and defence of Arcot by Clive occurred in 1751, the English attacks on Fort Duquesne began in 1754, whilst in 1755 hostilities spread to the sea, on which the British captured two French men-of-war carrying soldiers to Canada. Finally, in the early months of 1756 the French attacked Minorca; and with this last event war was regularly declared between the two countries.

Outbreak of
Seven Years'
War, 1755.

It was not only, however, the rivalry between France and Great Britain that brought about the war, but also that between Austria and Prussia. Maria Theresa had no intention of allowing Frederick to retain Silesia; she felt its loss so keenly that she could not see a native of that country, it was said, without weeping. The only question was as to the partners which the rival powers would take. In the War of the Austrian Succession the allies on each side had been dissatisfied with one another. For this and for other reasons the old alliances were reversed in the Seven Years' War. Austria and France—hitherto the great European rivals—for once made alliance together, and subsequently persuaded Russia to join them; and Great Britain bound itself to Austria's rival, Prussia.

Rivalry of
Prussia and
Austria.

The Seven Years' War, so far as Great Britain is concerned, may be divided into two periods. The first two years (1756-7) were years of almost unrelieved failure. The *Duke of Newcastle* (see p. 494) for the greater part of the time was chief

minister. Procrastinating and ignorant, timid and undecided, he was "unfit", said George II, "to be Chamberlain to the smallest Court in Germany"; and it would certainly be difficult to find anyone less fitted to carry on a great war. Commanders, both on land and sea, uninspired by the Government at home, planned their strategy without thought, and fought their battles by obsolete and formal methods. Consequently, at the beginning of the war, Great Britain was in terror of invasion, and to her disgrace Hessians and Hanoverians were brought over to defend her own shores.

British failures
in the war,
1756-7.

Meantime, *Byng* was dispatched with a fleet badly provisioned and poorly equipped to relieve *Minorca*, which, as has been stated, had been attacked by the French. Off that island he fought an indecisive action with the French fleet when he ought to have avoided a battle and confined his attention to harassing the French communications. He then, supported by the advice of a council of war, returned home, leaving *Minorca* to be taken by the French. The nation was furious. *Byng* was tried for neglect of duty, found guilty, and shot on the quarterdeck of his own ship in Portsmouth Harbour—a scapegoat for the incompetence of the British Government and the want of seamanship on the part of the British navy.¹ In America, the British lost *Oswego* and *Fort William Henry*, and an intended attack on *Louisburg* came to nothing. In Germany, the Duke of Cumberland, George II's son, who had been sent to protect Hanover and to cover the western frontier of Prussia from a French invasion, was defeated at *Hastenbeck*, and forced to sign the convention of *Kloster-seven*, by which he agreed to evacuate the country (1757).² Only two wonderful victories won by our ally, King Frederick of Prussia, over the French

¹ *Byng*, who was the son of the admiral who had won the battle off Cape Passaro in 1720, was unfortunate in being the first victim of a new rule. Officers could previously be shot for "cowardice" or "disaffection"; but "negligence" had recently been added as a capital offence, and *Byng* came under this charge because he was found guilty of not having done his utmost to save *Minorca*. Voltaire's *mot* on this execution is well known; it was done, he said, "pour encourager les autres".

² George II was very angry as a consequence, and on Cumberland's return to London only gave him an interview of four minutes, telling him that "he had ruined his country and spoiled everything". At cards that evening, when the duke entered the room, the king said openly: "Here is my son who has ruined me and disgraced himself!"

at Rosbach and over the Austrians at Leuthen saved the situation.

The last five years of the war (1758-63) are, on the other hand, years of almost untarnished glory. Midway in the year 1757 William Pitt formed a coalition ministry with the Duke of Newcastle. Pitt had all the qualities necessary for a great war minister. He combined

British successes, 1758-63, and Pitt's influence.

supreme self-confidence with the power of inspiring others. "I believe," he said of himself, "I can save this country and that no one else can." "No one," said an officer, "can enter his closet without coming out of it a braver man." He had the capacity for selecting good men; no doubt he appointed some bad officers, but Hawke and Wolfe and Ferdinand of Brunswick are great names which attest his judgment. Above all, he had not only the genius of conceiving great and sound strategical designs, but also the capacity, with infinite patience and thoroughness, to plan their execution. No doubt he was arrogant and overbearing. He threatened to impeach one colleague who opposed him, and another complained that his language was of a kind seldom heard west of Constantinople. But these very qualities enabled him to become the only genuine war minister Great Britain has had since the development of cabinet government, a minister possessing the almost undisputed control of the army and the navy as well as of the diplomacy of the country. For his ally Pitt had Frederick, King of Prussia, and it was through the combination of these great men that the foundations of the modern Empire of Great Britain and of the modern Kingdom of Prussia were securely laid.

Pitt's strategy was briefly as follows. Assistance must be given to the King of Prussia. Even the generalship of Frederick the Great would not have enabled Prussia to with- stand alone the combined forces of Austria, France, and Russia. Moreover, it was part of Pitt's policy to absorb French energies as far as possible in Europe. "We shall win Canada," Pitt said, "on the banks of the Elbe." Consequently he not only paid subsidies to Frederick of Prussia, but also maintained in Germany an army partly British and partly Hanoverian under *Ferdinand of Brunswick* to protect Hanover and the western flank of Prussia from the French. In addition

Strategy of Pitt.

he attacked various places on the French coast. These attacks, though not very successful,¹ kept the French nation in a continual state of alarm, and led, according to Pitt's information, to some thirty thousand French troops being employed in defensive work at home instead of aggressive operations elsewhere. In the West Indies and in the East Pitt's object was, at first, to protect British commerce, and later, to extend British possessions. His chief energies, however, were concentrated on the conquest of Canada; it was there we were to make the first bid for victory whilst the French wasted their efforts on the Continent.

In 1758 the initial successes began. In America, three separate armies advanced; the first, it is true, failed to take Ticonderoga, but of the others, one, with the aid of the fleet, captured Louisburg, and the other Fort Duquesne. Two raids were made on the French coast. The first went to St. Malo and destroyed a great deal of French shipping; but the second, after doing much damage at Cherbourg, revisited St. Malo, and on this occasion had to make a disastrously precipitate retreat. In Germany, Ferdinand of Brunswick was able to reach the Rhine, though he had to retreat later on. And just before the end of the year an expedition which had been dispatched to West Africa captured the French settlement of Goree.

With 1759 came a year more fruitful of successes than any other in our history. Upon Canada Pitt planned a twofold advance. Amherst was to take Ticonderoga, which he did, and to reach Quebec—which he was unable to accomplish. Wolfe, one of Pitt's favourite officers, was selected to command the soldiers and Saunders to command the sailors of another expedition which should go up the river St. Lawrence to attack Quebec. Saunders, in spite of fog and contrary winds, took the fleet and the transports up the St. Lawrence without mishap.

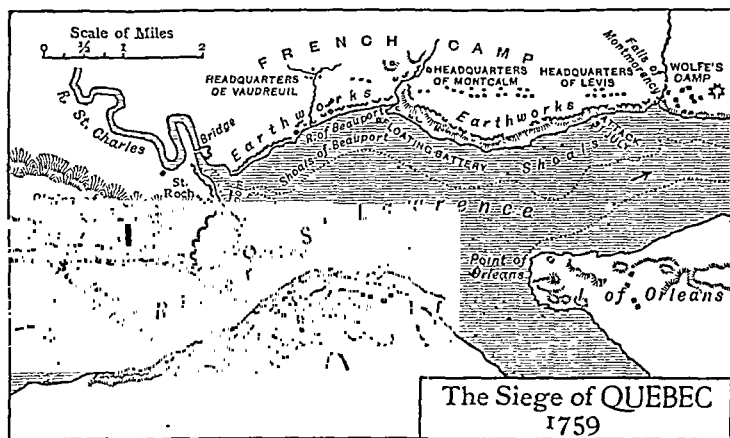
Quebec stands upon a rocky promontory at the junction of the river St. Charles and the river St. Lawrence. Montcalm, the French commander, had fortified the bank of the river St. Lawrence from the point where the river St.

The attack on Quebec.

¹ An opponent of Pitt's spoke of them sneeringly "as breaking windows with guineas", and they were undoubtedly expensive.

Charles joins it to a point some eight miles down stream where another river, the Montmorency, flows into it. Wolfe had, with inferior forces, to fight an enemy who was strictly on the defensive. He at once seized the Isle of Orleans, which lay below Quebec. But he could not succeed in tempting Montcalm from his entrenchments, and an attack made upon the French from across the river Montmorency was a failure. The summer wore on and matters looked hopeless.

Meantime, however, some of the British ships had succeeded



in passing the Quebec batteries, and in getting above the city. It was this achievement which enabled Wolfe to make his master-stroke. The cliffs on the north bank of the St. Lawrence above Quebec are steep and precipitous, but about a mile and a half beyond that fortress Wolfe had discovered a zigzag path which led to their summit. He determined to attempt a night attack at this place, and accordingly made arrangements, with great skill, to divert the enemy's attention from that quarter. Below Quebec, Montcalm's attention was occupied by a bombardment from the main body of the fleet under Saunders, whilst the garrison in the city itself had an energetic attack directed upon it from the opposite bank. Meanwhile Wolfe himself and a large part of his troops had embarked in the ships which were above Quebec. On the night of the attack the ships were some six miles above the

intended landing-place so as to distract the attention of Bougainville, who with a large force was watching these ships, from Wolfe's real objective.

Brilliantly conceived, the plan was no less brilliantly executed. About 2 a.m. on the morning of September 13, the ships' boats, laden with soldiers, started on their journey. They deceived two sentinels on the bank by pretending to be some expected French provision boats, and then a small landing-party got on shore, climbed up the path, surprised the small guard at the top of the cliff, and covered the landing of the rest of Wolfe's forces.

The news of this exploit was, of course, conveyed to Montcalm and Bougainville. The latter waited for the news to be confirmed, and was any way too far off to be of service; but Montcalm, after some hesitation, through being uncertain of Saunders's intentions, hurried up and marshalled his men on the Heights of Abraham. Towards ten o'clock the French advanced. The British waited till they came within thirty-five yards, gave two murderous volleys, and then charged, the newly-enlisted Highlanders especially distinguishing themselves. In twenty minutes the battle was over, and was followed by the capture of Quebec. The heroes of each side, Montcalm and Wolfe, were mortally wounded.¹

Elsewhere almost as great successes occurred. An expedition sent to the West Indies failed, indeed, to take Martinique, but took Guadeloupe instead. In Germany, Ferdinand, with an army composed of various nationalities, had to retire before two other armies and leave Hanover unprotected. By a brilliant counterstroke he suddenly attacked one French army at Minden. Nine battalions of British infantry, though exposed to a cross fire of artillery, charged through three successive lines of hostile cavalry and tumbled them to ruin; and but for the failure of Lord George Sackville to follow up so mag-

The Heights
of Abraham,
Sept. 13.

Battle of
Minden,
Aug. 1.

¹ Wolfe, at the age of sixteen, fought in the battle of Dettingen, and had to act as adjutant of his battalion. At the age of twenty-two he was given command of a regiment, and proved himself an admirable commander. He was a person of literary tastes. As his boat was going down the St. Lawrence on the night of the attack, he is said to have quoted some lines of Gray's *Elegy*, exclaiming: "Now, gentlemen, I would rather have written that poem than take Quebec!" George II had a high opinion of Wolfe's capacity. On one occasion someone said to him that Wolfe was mad. "Mad, is he?" was the king's answer; "then I wish he would bite some of my other generals."

nificent a charge with the cavalry, the victory might have been an overwhelming one.

Meanwhile the French had been planning the invasion of England. The fleets at Toulon and at Brest were to unite and to convoy the troops across. The Toulon fleet left harbour; but it was discovered going through the Straits of Gibraltar, and Boscawen, the British admiral, started in pursuit in under three hours—a wonderful performance. By the end of the next day the greater number of the French ships had been dispersed or destroyed off Lagos, and the remnant had retired to Cadiz (August 18). The Brest fleet took advantage of the absence of Hawke's blockading fleet, which had been driven away by a fierce storm, to escape, and sailed south.¹ But Hawke pursued it to Quiberon Bay, and on a lee shore during a November gale, in a bay full of reefs and shoals, fought it, captured two of its number, and destroyed two others. The remainder of the French fleet was dispersed, seven ships taking refuge up a river, from which they only escaped some fifteen months later. The French plan of invasion therefore absolutely failed. The fight in Quiberon Bay makes a wonderful ending to a wonderful year.

The later years of the war saw further successes. In 1760—the year of George III's accession—Montreal was captured, and the conquest of Canada was completed. In 1761 the British captured Belleisle, off the west coast of France. In that same year Spain joined France. Pitt had secret intelligence of this alliance, and had wanted to declare war on Spain before it declared war on us, and to capture the annual treasure fleet that came from Spanish America. The cabinet would not consent, and consequently Pitt resigned and Bute became head of the ministry. Spain, when the treasure fleet safely reached her harbours, declared war. But she was only to lose from her intervention. For in 1762 Great Britain captured Havana, the capital of Cuba, and Manila, the capital of

Battles of Lagos
(Aug. 18) and
Quiberon Bay
(Nov. 20).

British
successes,
1761-2.

¹ Hawke had entered the navy in 1720 at the age of fourteen. To Hawke is due what has been called a veritable revolution in naval strategy, for he instituted in 1759 the system of a blockade over the French port of Brest. He did this effectually for a period of six months from May to November, 1759. The French fleet only finally escaped because a very bad storm forced Hawke to take refuge at Torbay.

the Philippine Islands; whilst, to her other captures from France, Great Britain added Martinique and St. Lucia. Meantime negotiations had been begun for peace, and in 1763 the peace came.

Before giving the terms of peace, we must turn to the course of the war in India. There also it opened gloomily. [¶] In the

The war in Bengal. north, in 1756, a new Nabob of Bengal, *Surajah*

Dowlah, had, within two months of his accession, quarrelled with the British. He seized Calcutta, and there perpetrated the ghastly tragedy of the "Black Hole", putting one hundred and forty-six people—of whom only twenty-three survived—in a hot Indian night in a prison barely twenty feet square, and with only two small barred windows. Clive came up from Madras and retook Calcutta. In 1757—in the very

Battle of Plassey, 1757. same month that Pitt took office—he won on the field of *Plassey* with three thousand men, and with only eight guns, a victory over an army of fifty thousand men with forty guns. Clive was materially helped by the treachery of Meer Jaffier, one of the nabob's generals, and by the fact that a thunderstorm wetted the enemy's gunpowder, whilst tarpaulins protected his own; but even so, it was superb audacity on the part of Clive to risk a battle. That victory marks the beginning of the political ascendancy of the East India Company in Bengal; the Company put Meer Jaffier on the throne, and was given in return a substantial amount of land round Calcutta.

In the south matters had begun badly, as in the north, and the French took Fort St. David and besieged Madras; but they

The war in Southern India. were quickly driven away. Brilliant success was to follow. In the year of victories—in 1759—the capture of *Masulipatam* gave the English East India Company not only some eighty miles of coast line in the Circars, but substituted English for French influence at the Court of the

Nizam of Hyderabad; whilst in the following year, Battle of Wandewash, 1760. at *Wandewash*, Eyre Coote won a victory over the

French which led to the capture of Pondicherry and the other French settlements.

The Treaty of Paris in 1763 ended the war which had been so glorious to our arms. In America, Great Britain received Canada, the French territory on the east of the Mississippi,

Cape Breton Island, and all other islands in the River and Gulf of St. Lawrence, besides Florida, which she received from Spain in exchange for Havannah. In the West Indies, she received Dominica, Tobago, and Grenada; in ^{The Treaty of Paris, 1763.} the Mediterranean, Minorca; and in Africa, the settlements on the river Senegal. But Great Britain gave back a good deal. To Spain she returned rich Havana and Manila—the news of the capture of the latter was not received till negotiations were practically completed. France recovered Belleisle and Goree, strong Martinique and wealthy St. Lucia; and her settlements in India were restored to her on condition that she should not fortify them. To France also was ceded the right to fish off the Newfoundland coast, and two small islands were given to her for the use of her fishermen. No doubt if Pitt had been in office the terms would have been better; but, even as it is, the peace marks a great stage forward in the advance of our empire. With regard to Germany, France agreed to give up all the territories in that country which she had occupied. Frederick the Great held, however, that the British by negotiating a peace separately with the French had basely deserted him; and though the charge was not true, it affected Prussian sentiment towards Great Britain for a considerable period.

XXXVI. Domestic Politics and the First Two Georges, 1714–60

1. The British Constitution, 1714–1832

We must turn aside for a while from the review of the great wars to sketch the domestic affairs of Great Britain after 1714. Parliament, as a result of the Revolution of 1688, had obtained control of legislation and taxation. William III, however, as has been pointed out, chose his own ministers and directed both the home and foreign policy of the nation; and even Anne often

presided at meetings of the cabinet¹—as the meetings of heads of departments came to be called—and directly appointed the ministers. But with the accession of the House of Hanover came a great change, and it may be convenient here to summarize the chief features of the constitution during the hundred years after 1714.

"The Act of Settlement had given us," it has been said, "a foreign sovereign; the presence of a foreign sovereign gave us a prime minister." George I could not speak English—Walpole, after 1721 the king's chief minister, had to brush up his Latin in order to converse with the king in that language—and George II only spoke it with a strong German accent; while neither of the two kings was sufficiently interested in or intimate with British politics to comprehend its details. Consequently neither of them attended cabinet meetings; and George III, when he came to the throne in 1760, was unable, despite his desire, to do so owing to the precedent set by his predecessors. Hence it was natural that one minister should preside over the cabinet and direct its proceedings; and gradually it came about that he and not the king appointed his colleagues to the ministry, and that he obtained the title of prime minister. Moreover, the king, as he was not present at the cabinet meetings where the details were discussed, gradually lost the power of deciding on what was to be done. He would be told that such and such had happened, and that the advice of his minister was to do this. If he did not understand, or were careless, or not interested, he agreed without further comment. Gradually, the other characteristics of our present system of cabinet government were evolved: ministers were chosen from the same party; they became jointly responsible for the policy pursued; and they became dependent for the continuance of their power, not upon the king, but upon the House of Commons. Hitherto the Crown had decided, though the

¹ The privy council had grown too large for consultative purposes; consequently an inner royal council had developed, which was first called a "cabinet" in the reign of Charles I. After the Revolution the cabinet became an established institution. A statesman of Anne's reign illustrated the difference between the privy council and the cabinet thus: "The privy council were such as were thought to know everything and knew nothing, while those of the cabinet thought that nobody knew anything but themselves".

ministers might be consulted; but as time goes on the position is reversed—the ministers decided, though the Crown might be consulted. Moreover, the Crown ceased to refuse its assent to bills passed by Parliament, Anne being the last sovereign who exercised this right.

We must beware, however, of two mistakes in tracing the history of cabinet government. In the first place, we must not antedate its full development. In the eighteenth century, for instance, the leader of the ministry ^{Slowness of its development.} would have repudiated the title of prime minister owing to its unpopularity. Members of a cabinet not infrequently gave individual and contradictory advice to the king and seldom retired from office at the same time. Moreover, the Crown was still a great force; indeed, it might be said that the ministers of the eighteenth century had to serve two masters—the Crown and a majority of the House of Commons; and the hostility of either might cause their fall. And, as we shall see, in the latter part of the century, George III was successful in recovering, for a time, much of the power which George I and George II had lost.

In the second place, it must not be imagined that the power which the Crown lost was gained by the people, that monarchy gave way to democracy. Britain in the eighteenth century, it has been said, was ruled by a “Venetian ^{Power of the aristocracy.} oligarchy”. It was an oligarchy as exclusive, and almost as omnipotent, as in that famous republic, although its power was based, not, as in Venice, on the wealth derived from commerce, but on the power derived from the possession of large landed estates. Educated at one of the large public schools, intermarrying with one another, meeting each other constantly in the small and exclusive society of the London of that day, a few family clans composed the governing classes of the period. The leaders of such families as the Pelhams, the Russells, and the Cavendishes were found constantly in the higher, and their relatives in the lower posts of each Government. In one cabinet half the members were dukes, and in another there was only one commoner. This landowning oligarchy “encircled and enchained the throne”, dominated the House of

Lords, and possessed enormous influence in the House of Commons.

The House of Commons was, up till the passing of the Reform Bill in 1832, a very undemocratic body. The representation was most unequal; Cornwall, for instance, because it was a royal duchy, and therefore subject to the Crown influence, returned as many members as the whole of Scotland. In the English and Welsh counties the franchise was limited to freeholders, namely, those who owned their own land—not, of course, a large number. In the English and Welsh boroughs still greater anomalies existed, the franchise being confined to members of the corporation; consequently, in a city of the size of Bath, for instance, the number of voters was only thirty-five. Moreover, whilst towns so important as Manchester or Birmingham had no representatives at all, there were a great many small and insignificant boroughs, with a very few voters, which returned one and sometimes two members. These boroughs were known either as “rotten” or “pocket” boroughs. In the case of the former the seat was generally sold to the highest bidder.¹ A “pocket borough”, on the other hand, belonged to an individual, generally a neighbouring landowner, who nominated a member to represent it. In the middle of the eighteenth century Lord Lonsdale possessed nine and the Duke of Norfolk eleven of these “pocket” boroughs, whilst it was reckoned that no less than fifty members of the House of Commons to a large degree owed their seats to the influence of the Duke of Newcastle.²

In Scotland the electoral system was just as unrepresentative. The county of Bute possessed but twelve voters, whilst in the burghs the elections were controlled by a few individuals. Just before the Reform Bill of 1832 it was reckoned that with a population of over two and a quarter millions Scotland had only

¹ The price of seats went steadily up till the Reform Bill of 1832. About 1730 the price for the lifetime of a single parliament was £1500; a hundred years later it reached as much as £7000.

² Two statistics may perhaps best illustrate the character of the representation in England and Wales. Towards the close of the eighteenth century, out of a total population of some seven millions, only three hundred thousand had votes; and the aggregate number of voters which two hundred and fifty members in the House of Commons represented was only just over eleven thousand.

three thousand electors, and it was said that more votes were cast at a single by-election in Westminster than in a Scottish general election. Moreover, the ministers responsible for Scottish affairs had an enormous influence, which they exercised to secure members favourable to the Government in power.¹

To one more point allusion may be made. There is no doubt that the politics of the eighteenth century were somewhat corrupt. Loyalty to a party or a minister was generously rewarded; in George III's reign, for instance, Corruption in politics. no less than three hundred and eighty-eight peerages were created, most of them for political services. There was bribery with places and pensions; it was reckoned that a very large number of members of Parliament had either the one or the other. Politics were regarded as a lucrative profession, and a minister might expect to be able to endow his relatives and supporters with desirable offices, which combined a small amount of work with a large amount of remuneration.² But this was all part of the political system of that day. The direct bribery of members of Parliament to obtain their votes on a particular occasion was probably rare, except in some very corrupt years; and owing largely to the influence of such statesmen as the elder, and to a lesser extent the younger Pitt, and to a bill passed at the end of the century which reduced the number of places and pensions, the standard of political morality was gradually improved.

When all is said that can be said against the political system in existence between 1714 and 1832, it did, as a matter of fact, produce many statesmen of distinguished ability. Many of our

¹ Thus the Duke of Argyll and his brother were supreme during part of Walpole's ministry, and Henry Dundas during Pitt's rule (1783-1801) had such authority that he was known as Harry the Ninth, and practically all the Scotch members were his supporters.

² Thus Horace Walpole, the letter writer, was the third son of Robert Walpole, the prime minister. Whilst still a boy at Eton his father gave him the offices of Clerk of the Estreats and Comptroller of the Pipe, which produced about £300 per annum. At the age of twenty he became Usher of the Exchequer, which was worth from £1000 to £1500 a year. His duties were not exacting; they were "to furnish papers, pens, ink, wax, sand, tape, penknives, scissors, and parchment to the Exchequer and Treasury, and to pay the bills of the workmen and tradesmen who serve these offices". On his father's death, Walpole received in addition £1000 a year from the collector's place in the custom house. All these offices Walpole held for the rest of his life. Of his two brothers, one held the lucrative office of Auditor of the Exchequer, and the other was Clerk of the Pells.

greatest statesmen, including Walpole, Canning, Fox, the two Pitts, Gladstone, and Palmerston, began their political career as representatives of "pocket boroughs". Of course it is quite true that the House of Commons was not acutely sensitive to public opinion and did not readily reflect every change in the nation's ideas. But if the nation really felt strongly about anything, its feelings would in the end prevail in the House. And in some ways the system was good, for it gave the House a stability and the member an independence which were valuable.

The accession of the House of Hanover not only marked an important stage in the development of our Constitution, but it also affected profoundly the fortunes of the *Fortunes of Parties, 1714-1832.* great political parties in the State. For the next *forty-five* years the *Whigs were supreme*. The Tories were tainted with Jacobite sympathies, and the Whigs therefore remained in secure possession of the Government. The ministries, consequently, were of long duration, Walpole's lasting for twenty-one years (1721-42) and that of Pelham for ten years (1744-54). But with the accession of George III in 1760 came a change. The Tories were by this time reconciled to the Hanoverian dynasty, and their views on the necessity of reviving the monarchical power were congenial to the new king. Consequently, after a series of short Whig ministries—six in nine years—George III at last found the support he desired from a succession of *Tory ministers*. During nearly the whole of the period 1769-1830, the Tories, first under Lord North, then under the younger Pitt, and finally under Lord Liverpool, were in office; and their power was increased through the fear inspired by the French Revolution of 1789, which led many Whigs to join the Tory ranks. Not till 1830 did the Whigs, owing to their advocacy of Parliamentary Reform, return to power for any length of time.¹

¹ They were in office 1782-3, but only for a very short period, and their leaders formed a coalition ministry with the Tory leaders 1806-7.

2. The Risings of 1715 and 1745 in Scotland

Something must now be said about the details of the history during the period comprised by the reigns of *George I* (1714-27) and of *George II* (1727-60). "Soul extinct; stomach well alive" is the verdict of one distinguished historian on this epoch. Indeed, it cannot, except towards its close, be called an inspiring one. In politics there was a good deal of corruption, and no great principle to ennoble the strife between the party factions. In religion, the Church of England it has been said, slept and rotted in peace, and its leaders—the bishops—were in some cases hardly Christians. The poetry was of the artificial, epigrammatic character, of which Pope was such a master. A period of peace was followed by a period of war in which for a time many of our soldiers and seamen showed conspicuous incapacity. Nevertheless, it was a period of growing toleration in matters of religion, and of growing common sense in the affairs of the world; the country grew prosperous, and trade and industry increased; and the nation obtained, for the first half of this epoch, what perhaps it most needed at that time—an interval of repose.)

Character
of period
1714-60.

Such a period was not one in which men would be prepared to lead forlorn hopes in support of lost causes. Though Tory squires and Oxford undergraduates might still continue to toast the Stuarts,¹ the mass of the nation quietly acquiesced in the Hanoverian succession. Only in Scotland, and especially in the Highlands, was active devotion shown to the House of Stuart, and Scotland was the centre of the two rebellions which took place. The first rising was in 1715, and is known, from the name of its leader, as *Mar's Rebellion*. There were to be risings in the Highlands under the Earl of Mar himself, and in the Lowlands of Scotland; in Cumberland, under a Mr. Forster; and in the west of England, where the Duke of Ormonde was to land. But the rising in the west came to nothing. The two Scotch forces should have combined for a

¹ Under such disguises as Job, standing for James III (the Old Pretender), Ormonde, and Bolingbroke; or £3, 14s. 5d., which denoted James III and the two foreign kings who were expected to assist him, Louis XIV of France and Philip V of Spain.

joint attack upon Stirling, which commanded the communications of Highlands and Lowlands; but the Lowlanders went south instead of north, and along with the men of Cumberland were taken prisoners at Preston. The day before their capture Mar met the Hanoverian army at *Sheriffmuir*, and though the battle was indecisive, the right wing of each army soundly defeating the wing opposed to it, the rebellion fizzled out. After the rebellion was over a few of its leaders were executed, though one of them, Lord Nithsdale, succeeded in escaping from prison in his wife's dress the day before that fixed for his execution.¹

The causes of the failure of the rising were many. To begin with, its leaders were incompetent, and no one had much faith in Mar, "bobbing John" as he was called. The Old Pretender did indeed land in Scotland, but not till after *Sheriffmuir* had been fought, and he proved a very dispiriting and frigid leader; "it is no new thing for me to be unfortunate", were reported to be almost his opening words on his arrival.² Moreover, Louis XIV had just died, and the Regent Orleans, who governed during the childhood of Louis XV, wished to keep on good terms with Great Britain. Consequently no help from France was forthcoming. Finally, the Whig Government in power showed much energy in dealing with the situation.

The second rising, 1745, was a more formidable affair. It took place during the War of the Austrian Succession, soon after the battle of Fontenoy (p. 463), where Great Britain had lost great numbers of her bravest troops. Its hero was *Charles Edward*, the son of the Old Pretender, whose daring and attractive personality well fitted him to lead the Highlanders to victory. Landing in July with only seven men at Moidart, in the north-west of Scotland, he won the support of the Camerons and Macdonalds, and marched south. Cope, the opposing general marched north from Edinburgh to meet him, but, thinking

¹ When George I heard of Lord Nithsdale's escape, he merely said that it was "the best thing a man in his condition could have done".

² The Old Pretender, or the Chevalier de St. George as he is called, left Scotland in less than six weeks. Subsequently he married a granddaughter of the King of Poland, his two sons being Charles Edward (d. 1788) and the Cardinal of York (d. 1807). He himself died in 1766, and some years later—in 1819—George III erected a monument to his memory in St. Peter's at Rome. In his earlier days the Chevalier fought with great bravery for the French at Oudenarde and Malplaquet.

that Corry Arrack—a pass four miles long with seventeen sudden turnings—was held by the enemy, branched off to Inverness. Prince Charles therefore continued his march south, and he was joined by a very capable officer, Lord George Murray.¹ He then entered Edinburgh, and advanced to meet Cope, who had returned by sea, at *Prestonpans*. Crossing by night a marsh which was supposed to be impassable, Prince Charles at daylight found himself within two hundred yards of the enemy; and his Highlanders, charging successively the artillery, the cavalry, and the infantry, won a decisive victory in under ten minutes (September). “They ran like rabbits”, wrote the Prince of the enemy (the spelling is his own); “not a single bayonet was blood-stained”.² Nearly all Scotland now acknowledged Charles Edward.

General Wade, meanwhile, had been sent north to Newcastle with ten battalions (seven of which were composed of foreigners) to prevent an invasion of England. Prince Charles advanced south, then suddenly—to avoid Wade—The invasion of England. swerved west, entered England by Carlisle, took Manchester, and reached Derby—within one hundred and twenty-five miles of London. Whether he ought to have advanced farther will always be a matter for dispute. Had he but known that Newcastle, one of the chief ministers of the day, was restlessly pacing his room in an agony of doubt as to whether to join the Pretender or not, that George II himself had made all preparations to retire to Hanover, and that people were rushing in wild panic to get their money from the bank, he might have proceeded. As it was, Prudence in the person of Lord George Murray said “No”; for Wade was with one army in the north, Cumberland with another in the Midlands, and yet another lay near London, whilst the Prince’s own army was dwindling and recruits were not coming in. Consequently Prince Charles retreated; and when he had once begun, he could not stop.

The rebellion henceforward became, as a contemporary said, “a rebellion on the defensive”, and was bound to fail. Prince

¹ He had a son at Eton who was very anxious to fight for King George.

² The Highlanders were delighted; they had, they said, a prince “who could eat a dry crust, sleep on pease-straw, eat his dinner in four minutes, and win a battle in five”.

Charles, however, reached Scotland safely, and won a victory at *Falkirk* (January, 1746). The Duke of Cumberland was then

appointed to the chief command in Scotland. ^{Suppression of rising.}

Travelling in six days from London to Edinburgh to take up his appointment, he showed a like energy in drilling his troops, and in teaching them to meet a Highland charge. Whilst the men in the rear rank were to fire volleys, those in the front rank were to kneel with bayonets fixed, and each man was to thrust at the Highlander on his right front, the right being the Highlander's unprotected side. After a clever winter campaign in a mountainous country, Cumberland met Prince Charles at *Culloden*, in the neighbourhood of Inverness, and won a complete victory (April, 1746), though he obtained the horrible appellation of "Butcher", from the cruelty which he showed after the battle.¹

After the rebellion was over, many Scotsmen were executed. Prince Charles himself, through the heroism of *Flora Macdonald*, was able to effect his escape, and eventually died in 1788.² The British Parliament passed a stringent Disarming Act—and even bagpipes, by a decision of the law courts, were declared instruments of war and therefore illegal. Parliament also abolished the hereditary jurisdiction of the Highland chiefs—many of whom had taken part in the insurrection—and tried, though without success, to abolish the national dress. With the failure of the rising, the hopes of the Jacobites—as the supporters of the Stuarts were called—were for ever crushed. Before long the Highlanders were to show on many a battlefield the same splendid loyalty and devotion to the House of Hanover as they had shown to the House of Stuart, for Pitt during the Seven Years' War formed two Scottish regiments, which did magnificent service, especially on the "Heights of Abraham".

¹ The battle of Culloden made the Duke of Cumberland a popular hero in England. Parliament voted him £25,000 a year. Handel composed an oratorio in his honour, whilst Tyburn Gate in Hyde Park was renamed Cumberland Gate, and innkeepers delighted to put his head on their tavern signs. Eleven years later, however, the battle of Hastenbeck made him very unpopular.

² Through *Flora Macdonald's* help he escaped to Skye disguised as an Irish spinning-maid, and subsequently got safely to France. In 1750 he revisited England, of course disguised, and "in the new church in the Strand" made a Declaration of his Protestantism.

3. The Two Kings and their Whig Ministers

Something must now be said about the two kings, *George I* and *George II*, who ruled respectively from 1714-27, and from 1727-60. They cannot be considered very attractive monarchs. A contemporary said of George I that "he had no notion of what was princely"; whilst George II was somewhat coarse, occasionally irritable, and not over-generous—he only made one present to Walpole, who was his minister for fifteen years, and that was a diamond with a flaw in it. Neither of the two kings was interested in science, art, or literature.¹ Both of them quarrelled with their eldest sons.² But whilst George I quarrelled also with his wife and kept her in prison for over thirty years, George II was very much attached to Queen Caroline (she died in 1737), who was indeed a remarkable woman, keenly interested in the philosophy and literature of her time, and exercising considerable influence upon politics.

Both George I and George II, however, possessed characteristics which should have appealed to their new subjects. They were keen soldiers. George I began his fighting career at the age of fifteen, and commanded the forces of the Empire for a short period during the War of the Spanish Succession, whilst George II led a great cavalry charge at Oudenarde, and, donning the same old uniform thirty-five years later, fought like a lion at Dettingen. Both kings were veracious and trustworthy, loyal to their friends and not vindictive to their opponents. Moreover, it is very greatly to their credit that, though they were absolute rulers in Hanover, they never overstepped the constitutional limits imposed upon them in Great Britain, and they had the good sense to rely for counsel in British affairs upon their British advisers and

¹ There is a story that George I, when congratulated by some courtier on becoming King of England, said: "Rather congratulate me in having Newton for a subject in the country and Leibnitz in the other." But the story lacks confirmation, and there is no reason to suppose that George I realized the greatness either of the discoverer of the law of gravitation or of the inventor of the differential calculus.

² George I was so much displeased with his son, the future George II, that he refused to have entertained a suggestion that the son should be seized and sent to America "where he should never be heard of more"; for Queen Caroline, George II's wife, found in George II's cabinet after his death a letter from the First Lord of the Admiralty concerning this proposal.

not upon any German ministers or favourites. It was hardly to be expected that George I, who came to the throne at the age of fifty-four and did not know a word of English, should understand or care for British politics; he spent half his time in Hanover, and his influence in Great Britain was small. George II, though also devoted to Hanover, knew more of Great Britain, and, as he possessed shrewdness and common sense, was a factor of considerable importance in domestic affairs.

We must now turn to home politics. The accession of George I, in 1714, made the Whigs supreme. The Tories were tainted with

The Whig Government, 1714-20. Jacobite sympathies, and for forty-five years—till after the accession of George III—the Whigs remained in

secure possession of the Government. The immense Whig majority that was returned to the first Parliament of George I showed considerable energy. It repealed the more intolerant Acts—such as the Occasional Conformity and Schism Acts—passed in the Tory Parliament of Anne. It impeached the Tory leaders, including Harley. Fearful, after Mar's rising was suppressed, that a new Parliament might return a Tory majority, it proceeded to prolong its own existence by passing—somewhat unconstitutionally—the *Septennial Act* (1716), which allowed this and succeeding Parliaments to sit for seven years. The life of a Parliament was till 1911 subject to this Act, and this limit is undoubtedly better than that of three years which had been imposed in the reign of William III. Meanwhile the four leaders in the Whig ministry had quarrelled; and in 1717 two of them, Townshend and Walpole, resigned, leaving Sunderland, the son-in-law of Marlborough, and Stanhope, the conqueror of Minorca, supreme. The rule of the two latter, however, was to come to an abrupt conclusion in 1720.

A company had been formed in 1711 to secure the trade of the South Seas. It had prospered, and in 1719 it offered to take

The South Sea Bubble. over the National Debt, that is to say, to become the sole creditor of the Government, and to buy out, either by cash or by shares in the Company, all other creditors.

The Company proposed to pay £7,000,000 for this privilege—for as such it was regarded—and to reduce the interest which the nation was paying. The Government accepted the offer, and the

more willingly as the Company had paid considerable bribes to the less honest of its members. The directors of the Company thought that the close connection with the Government which would result from the Company being its sole creditor would be a gigantic advertisement and inspire confidence. And so it proved. Everyone, including philosophers and clergymen, and even in its corporate capacity the Canton of Berne, began to buy shares in the Company. The £100 shares went up by bounds and reached £1000. There followed a craze of speculation. Numerous companies were formed, none too foolish to lack subscribers.¹ And then came the reaction, and the bubble burst. People began to realize that the South Sea Company's shares could not possibly be worth what had been paid for them, and tried to get rid of them. Consequently the shares fell even quicker than they had risen, and hundreds of people who had bought when the stock was high lost their fortunes.

At once there was a cry for vengeance. It was seriously proposed to tie the directors up in sacks and throw them into the Thames. Revelations regarding the bribes to the ministers came out, and the Government was Fall of the ministry, 1720. ruined. Of the two leaders, Sunderland resigned, and Stanhope, who was honest, had a fit when an unjust charge of corruption was brought against him, and died. Of the other ministers, one committed suicide, another was sent to the Tower, whilst the smallpox accounted for a third. The way was thus left open for Walpole, who had not been officially connected with the South Sea Company's transactions, though he had made a profit of 1000 per cent by judicious buying and selling of its shares on his own private account.

Robert Walpole was a typical product of his time. By birth a Norfolk squire, and educated at Eton, he was a cheerful, good-natured, tolerant person, and a keen sportsman, who, Character of Walpole. it was said, always opened the letters from his game-keeper first, however important his other correspondence might be.² He was a man of considerable common sense, and a pro-

¹ One financier brought out a company to promote "a certain design which will hereafter be promulgated"; and even this company did not lack subscribers.

² Parliament owes its Saturday holiday to the fact that Walpole on that day used always

digiously hard worker. He never appeared to be in a hurry, and he had the invaluable faculty of forgetting his worries. "I throw off my cares," he said, "when I throw off my clothes." As he said, however, of himself, he was no saint, no reformer, no Spartan. A cynical, coarse person, he lacked all enthusiasms. With him there was no ideal for his country to seek to attain in external affairs, no passion to lessen the sum of human misery at home. Such a statesman may make a nation prosperous, but he can never make a nation great. It was fortunate for Great Britain that, after she had waxed fat under a Walpole, she had a Pitt to inspire her to action.

The twenty-one years of Walpole's administration, from 1721-42, contain, it has been said, no history. We have seen how in foreign affairs Walpole maintained till near the close of his ministry a policy of peace, which was very beneficial to England. In domestic affairs little happens. In our financial history, however, Walpole's rule was very important. Walpole undoubtedly was a great financier. He restored credit after the South Sea panic. He found, it is said, our tariff to be the worst in Europe; and by abolishing duties on a great number of articles he made it the best. In all the details of financial administration he was excellent; if he could not, as George I said he could, make gold out of nothing, he could make it go a long way.

Walpole's administration, again, marks a stage in the evolution of cabinet government. Walpole has been called our first prime minister, because he practically appointed all his colleagues, and insisted that they should have the same opinions as himself. He, however, was no believer in cabinet councils, and preferred to discuss public affairs with two or three of his colleagues at the more convivial and less controversial dinner table. But if a minister differed from him he had to go—either to govern Ireland like Carteret

to hunt with his beagles at Richmond. Pope, the great friend of Walpole's chief opponents, has borne witness to his social qualities:

"Seen him I have; but in his happier hour
Of social pleasure ill exchanged for power:
Seen him uncumbered with the venal tribe,
Smile without art and win without a bribe".

(1724); or to be the first leader of an organized Opposition like Pulteney (1725), whose tongue Walpole feared, it was said, more than another man's sword; or to grow turnips like Townshend (1730), the brother-in-law and Norfolk neighbour of Walpole.

Though Walpole was supreme in his ministry, he had to encounter considerable opposition from other quarters. Bolingbroke, who had fled to the Continent on George I's accession, had been allowed to come back to Eng-
land, and, though excluded, as one of the conditions

Walpole
and the
Opposition.

of his return, from using his great powers of speech in the House of Lords, wielded his pen with great effect in a weekly paper called *The Craftsman*.¹ He and the Tories, though not very numerous themselves, had as their allies in opposing Walpole an increasing number of the older Whigs under Pulteney, who were discontented with Walpole's monopoly of power, and of the younger Whigs called "the Boys", including a rising statesman in William Pitt, who unsparingly attacked Walpole's system of bribery and corruption. Walpole, however, held his own. He had the support of both George I and George II, and especially of Queen Caroline until she died in 1737.² Moreover, his mixture of shrewdness, good sense, and good humour made him an excellent leader in the House of Commons; and these qualities, besides the power which he could exercise through the gift of places and pensions, and the possession by some of his chief supporters of "pocket boroughs", served to secure him a fairly docile majority.

Walpole was careful, moreover, to avoid raising great antagonisms. Whilst allowing the Dissenters in practice to hold office in towns and elsewhere, he would not, for fear
of angering the Church, formally repeal the laws which
forbade them to do so. In another matter he gave way to popular feeling. In 1733 he introduced an *Excise Bill*. Under

The Excise
Bill, 1733.

¹ The first number of *The Craftsman* appeared at the end of 1726, and the last number in 1736. It was published at first twice and then once a week, and amongst its contributors, besides Bolingbroke himself, were Swift, Pulteney, Pope, and Arbuthnot.

² Queen Caroline on one occasion succeeded in convincing the king with arguments Walpole had used to her, though unconvinced by them herself. She had great influence over the king, cf. the old couplet:

"You may strut, dapper George, but 't will all be in vain;
We know 't is Queen Caroline, not you, that reign".

this Bill duties on wine and tobacco were to be paid, not on their arrival in port, but only if and when they were taken for *internal* consumption in Great Britain out of the warehouses where they were to be placed on arrival. The object of the Bill was to check smuggling, and to make London and other places free ports by allowing goods to be re-exported without paying any duty. The Bill, however, met with tremendous opposition. An army of excise men, it was alleged, would be created, who would swamp the elections with their votes, and who would invade Englishmen's homes to see that the duty had been paid, reducing British subjects to a condition of slavery. The citizens of London prayed to be heard against the Bill, and sent a petition escorted by coaches that stretched from Westminster to Temple Bar. The soldiers were on the point of mutiny because they thought that the price of their tobacco would be raised. The whole country took up the cry of "No slavery, no excise", and numbers of people marched about with badges on their hats bearing this and similar inscriptions. In the House of Commons the Opposition attacked the Bill with great fury, and Walpole's majority sank to seventeen. When this occurred, Walpole felt he must yield. "This dance", he said, "will no further go"; and, to the great popular delight, the Bill was abandoned.¹

Three years after the withdrawal of the Excise Bill, Walpole's Government became very unpopular in Scotland. As a result of the hated Union of 1707, the customs duties in that country had been increased so as to tally with those in England, and consequently every good Scot thought himself justified in eluding them. Smuggling was therefore regarded with an indulgent eye in Scotland, and was so general as to be almost one of its minor industries. In 1736 two notorious smugglers, who had robbed a custom-house officer, were convicted and ordered to be executed in Edinburgh. One of them made himself a popular hero by chivalrously aiding the escape of the other,² and there was consequently a huge and sympathetic crowd

¹ Even Samuel Johnson, some twenty years after, so far forgot the impartiality of a lexicographer as thus to define the word "excise" in his Dictionary: "a hateful tax levied upon commodities, and adjudged not by common judges of property, but by wretches hired by those to whom excise is paid".

² The two prisoners had planned to escape from prison by enlarging the window in their

at his execution. The execution over, there was some disorder, and stones were thrown at the town guard. Its commander, Captain Porteous, gave orders for the guard to fire, and some people were killed. Popular fury was aroused. Captain Porteous was tried and condemned to death. But he was reprieved by the Government, and the mob then took matters into its own hands and hanged him on a dyer's pole.¹ Walpole's Government accordingly tried to pass a Bill punishing the city of Edinburgh, but its terms were so stringent that they were opposed by all the Scottish members and had to be considerably modified. Walpole's position in Scotland was further weakened by the defection of the Duke of Argyll, who had enormous influence; consequently in the new Parliament of 1741 only six Scottish members supported Walpole.

Meanwhile Queen Caroline's death in 1737 had deprived Walpole of his chief ally, whilst in the same year the Prince of Wales joined the Opposition. Finally, the Opposition forced on the war with Spain in 1739 (p. 461), and Walpole's mismanagement of it helped to secure his defeat and resignation in 1742. Fall of
Walpole, 1742. Walpole's rule had not been an inspiring one. But his policy of peace abroad and inactivity at home had two results: it made the Hanoverian dynasty secure, and it gave the country a breathing space which enabled her to endure the exertions demanded during the later wars of the century. Moreover, Walpole's strong, clear common sense had been of great value in matters of practical administration, whilst his financial ability had done much, and would, but for a factious opposition, have done more to develop the prosperity and trade of the country.

To Walpole succeeded a ministry whose most prominent member was *Carteret*, and whose activity was chiefly shown in the War of the Austrian Succession; and to that another ministry commonly called the "*Broad-bottomed administration*", consisting of nearly all the chief Whigs The Pelham
ministry, 1744-54.

cell. One of them, however, being a person of considerable bulk, stuck in the aperture, and not only was unable to get out himself but prevented the egress of the other. But, on the following Sunday, he attacked the guard at the close of divine service, and enabled his fellow-prisoner to get away.

¹ See Scott's *Heart of Midlothian* for full account of the Porteous Riots.

under *Henry Pelham* and his brother, the Duke of Newcastle. That ministry, which lasted from 1744 to 1754, continued and ended the War of the Austrian Succession, and suppressed the Rebellion of 1745, and in home affairs pursued Walpole's quiescent policy. Only one matter of interest need be mentioned, and that was the reform of the calendar. Hitherto in Great Britain the old Roman calendar had been used, and not the corrected calendar adopted first by Gregory XIII in 1582, and subsequently by nearly all European nations. The old calendar was several days wrong, and the ministry, in order to rectify it, omitted some days in September, 1752, calling the 3rd of September the 14th. Great irritation was aroused by this change, many people thinking that they had been defrauded by the Government of these days; hence came the popular cry, "Give us back our eleven days". Another change was made at the same time, and the legal year in future was to begin on January 1st, and not, as heretofore, on March 25th.¹

On Pelham's death, in 1754, the *Duke of Newcastle* succeeded as prime minister. He was a man of vast incompetence, always in a hurry and bustle and never doing anything. He has been described as a "hubble-bubble" man, his manner and speech resembling the bubbling of a Turkish pipe.² But his personal influence over various "pocket" boroughs returning members to the House of Commons, and his vast fortune spent in securing others, gave him a position which enabled him to be in high office almost continuously for over forty years. He and his ministry were so incapable that they could not survive the beginning of the Seven Years' War (1756). The

The Duke of Newcastle, 1754-6.

¹ The most permanent monument of Pelham's administration was the foundation of the British Museum in 1753, but all that can be said to Pelham's credit is that "he was not unfriendly to the scheme". The money for it was raised by means of a lottery.

² Newcastle was for a long time responsible for the administration of the American colonies, and two stories are told of his ignorance in that capacity. After being minister for many years someone told him that Cape Breton was an island and was not on the mainland, and he exclaimed delightedly: "Cape Breton an island! Wonderful!—show it me in the map. So it is, sure enough. My dear sir, you always bring us good news. I must go and tell the king that Cape Breton is an island." On another occasion a general suggested that some defence was necessary for Annapolis; on which Newcastle, with his "evasive lisping hurry", replied: "Annapolis, Annapolis! Oh! yes, Annapolis must be defended; to be sure, Annapolis should be defended—pray, where is Annapolis?"

ministry which succeeded, however, found itself powerless without Newcastle's influence. Fortunately *Pitt and Newcastle* then combined in the summer of 1757 to form a ministry, Newcastle managing the patronage and business details whilst Pitt was left to conduct the great war with which his name will be for ever connected. But before Pitt and Newcastle could bring the Seven Years' War to a conclusion, the death of George II, in 1760, changed the aspect of domestic politics, and the Whig ascendancy was, for the first time since 1714, seriously threatened.

Pitt and
Newcastle.
1757-61.

4. Pitt and Wesley

In the early Hanoverian period, the nation, it has been said, had sunk into a condition of moral apathy rarely paralleled in our history. It was due, above all others, to two men, William Pitt and John Wesley, that Great Britain, towards the middle of the century, was roused from her torpor, and of these two men and their influence something must now be said. Pitt, after an education at Eton, went into the cavalry. He entered Parliament in 1735. He became an opponent, first as leader of "the Boys", of Walpole's corruption, and secondly, of Carteret's continental foreign policy; and the violent expression of his views was so congenial to the old Duchess of Marlborough that she left him a legacy of £10,000. Subsequently he had become paymaster of the forces in Pelham's administration, but had refused to take the enormous perquisites which had hitherto been connected with that office. From 1757 to 1761 Pitt was the real ruler of Great Britain. No doubt he was inconsistent, and in youth when in opposition attacked measures which he subsequently supported when in power. He has been described, and not without truth, as something of a charlatan. He loved ostentation and lacked simplicity. He was always something of an actor, and even for the most unimportant interviews his crutch and his sling (for he was a martyr to gout) were most carefully arranged.¹ And it must be admitted that his con-

Character and
influence of
Pitt.

¹ Pitt was very fond of reading aloud the tragedies of Shakespeare to his family, but, whenever he came to any light or comic parts, he used to give the book to someone else to read. "This anecdote", says a distinguished historian, "is characteristic of his whole life. He never unbent. He was always acting a part, always self-conscious, always aiming at a false and unreal dignity."

duct to other ministers was overbearing and at times almost intolerable.

But Pitt was a great man. As an orator he was superb. "His words", wrote one contemporary, "have sometimes frozen my young blood into stagnation and sometimes made it pace in such a hurry through my veins that I could scarce support it." Another said that you might as soon expect a "No" from an old maid as from the House of Commons when Pitt was in the height of his power.¹ Absolutely incorruptible himself, he and his son, the younger Pitt, did more than any other two men to raise the standard of English public life. Quite fearless, he had the courage to stand up for unpopular causes—as in the case of Byng—when he saw an injustice was being done. It was of course as a war minister that he was greatest, and of Pitt in that capacity something has already been said. But Pitt was one of those rare statesmen who had great views in all things. Unfortunately for Great Britain he only held high office from 1757 to 1761, and again for a brief period from 1766 to 1767. If he could have stayed in office longer, Ireland might have been pacified, America might not have been lost, our Indian Empire might have been at an earlier date organized, and parliamentary reform sooner accomplished. For not only had he great views himself, but like a prophet of old he could inspire a nation to noble deeds and high thoughts.

John Wesley's influence in the religious life of the nation was similar to that exercised by Pitt in the political life. Wesley had

John Wesley and the Methodist movement. been educated at Charterhouse and Oxford. After taking orders, he returned to Oxford as a Fellow in 1729, and for the next six years was the leader of a small society for mutual improvement, the members of which, including his brother Charles, the famous hymn writer, and

¹ Many stories illustrate the extraordinary power Pitt possessed over the House of Commons. On one occasion a member who was attempting to answer Pitt was overcome either by Pitt's glance or a few words which he spoke, and sat down in fear and confusion. Someone afterwards asked a person who was present "whether the House did not laugh at the ridiculous figure of the poor member". "No, sir," he replied, "we were all too much awed to laugh." On another occasion Pitt began a speech with the words "Sugar, Mr. Speaker". The combination of Pitt's somewhat theatrical gestures and appearance with such simple words as these caused some members to laugh. Pitt turned round on these members, repeated the word "sugar" three times, and then said, "Who will now dare to laugh at sugar?" And the members sank, we are told, into abashed silence.

George Whitefield, were known in the University by the nickname of Methodists. Subsequently Wesley was a minister for two years in Georgia, the newly founded colony in America. On his return to England he began the work which has made him so famous. In 1739 he built the first of his chapels at Bristol, and formed the first of his regular Methodist societies in London. Above all, the year 1739 saw the system of open-air preaching adopted which was to carry the message of the gospel to hundreds of thousands of people.

The activity shown by John Wesley and his colleagues, Charles Wesley and Whitefield, was astonishing. Of the three, Whitefield was probably the greatest preacher, Activity of the Methodists. and he, during the thirty-four years of his ministry, is said to have preached on the average ten sermons a week to audiences numbering sometimes as many as thirty thousand.¹ His record, however, is surpassed by that of John Wesley, who, in the half century preceding his death in 1791, is estimated to have delivered forty thousand sermons, and to have travelled a quarter of a million of miles, the greater part of it on horseback. Their preaching affected all classes—the miners of Cornwall, the soldiers in the army, the negroes in Georgia, as well as a section of fashionable society in London. Nor was the activity of the three confined to England and Wales, for the whole world was their parish. Whitefield made over twelve journeys across the Atlantic, and Wesley had a missionary tour in Scotland when over eighty years of age.

Throughout his life Wesley remained a member of the Church of England. But gradually the movement which he initiated became independent of that Church. His doctrines concerning sin and conversion were disliked by Methodism and the Church of England. many in the Anglican Church. The chapels

¹ No popular preacher has probably ever had such influence as Whitefield. He had a voice which could be heard by thirty thousand people in the open air, but which was managed with such skill that he could pronounce, a contemporary said, an unpromising word like Mesopotamia in a way to produce tears from his audience. Of his powers of vivid description many stories are related. Even such a pattern of propriety and aristocratic conduct as Lord Chesterfield, when Whitefield was relating the story of a blind man deserted by his dog and losing his way on a dangerous moor, lost all self-control, and bounded out of his seat as the blind man neared a precipice, exclaiming, "Good God! he's gone!" One of Whitefield's admirers held that a sermon of his would only reach its highest perfection at the fortieth repetition.

which he built were designed to be supplemental to the parish churches; before long they became rivals. Quite early in his career, in 1737, Wesley had instituted "lay" preachers, and in 1784 he even began to ordain ministers; and after his death the Wesleys formed themselves into definite and separate organizations.¹

Yet John Wesley is not to be remembered only as the founder of a new religious organization. He was a great social reformer as well as a great religious leader, and to him, perhaps in a greater degree than to any other man, is due the increased kindliness and humaneness which was exhibited in the later part of the eighteenth century, and the development of practical efforts to deal with the problems of poverty, inadequate though those efforts still were. But above all else we may put his influence on the religious life of the whole British people. A great French thinker, who visited the country soon after the accession of George I, was of opinion that there was no such thing as religion in England; and there is no doubt that the early period of the Hanoverian rule was singularly lacking in religious activities and enthusiasms. It is the imperishable glory of John Wesley that he restored Christianity, as has been said, to its place as a living force in the personal creed of men and in the life of the nation.

¹ How much the various Methodist societies have grown may be realized by statistics. On Wesley's death, in 1791, the members of his societies numbered seventy-six thousand, and the preachers three hundred; at the present time, throughout the world, there are nearly fifty thousand preachers and not far short of thirty million members belonging to the Wesleyan communities.

Summary of History During Reign of George III (1760-1820)

The reign of *George III* (1760-1820) may be divided chronologically into three periods: first, 1760-83 to the end of the American War of Independence; second, 1783-1802 to the end of the Revolutionary War, a period during nearly the whole of which the younger Pitt was Prime Minister; third, 1803-20, when occurred the struggle against Napoleon and the subsequent years of distress.

The *First* of these periods (1760-83) sees the end of the Seven Years War in 1763, and the Treaty of Paris by which Great Britain obtained Canada (pp. 475-7). Then followed the series of events beginning with the Stamp Act in 1765, which caused the American War of Independence (1775-83); after three years France, and, later still, Spain and Holland combined in the war against Great Britain, and finally the latter had to recognize the independence of the Colonies (Ch. XXXVII). The war had great influence upon the relations between Great Britain and Ireland, and enabled the Irish, under Grattan's leadership, to secure the independence of their Parliament and the abolition of the restrictions upon their trade (pp. 578-9). In India this period saw the reforms of Clive during his third visit to India (1765-7), and the government of Warren Hastings from 1774-85 (pp. 512-15); whilst Cook's first voyage to Australia in 1768 was the prelude to the colonization of that vast continent (p. 519). In home politics these years are interesting for the attempts of the king to recover, from the Whig oligarchy, some of the lost power of the Crown, an attempt which was successful during the ministry of Lord North (1769-82), the king being really his own Prime Minister (pp. 560-6). During this period also came some of the chief inventions and discoveries of the Industrial Revolution, including the "Spinning Jenny" and the Steam Engine (pp. 586-7); whilst in 1776 came the publication of Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* (p. 570).

The *Second* of the three periods (1783-1802) saw the long ministry of the younger Pitt (1783-1801), the first ten years of which were years of peace and financial reform (pp. 569-71). The later years were occupied with the war of the French Revolution (1793-1802), a war caused chiefly by the aggressiveness of France and her desire to spread her doctrines over Europe as a consequence of her Revolution, which began in 1789. At sea Great Britain had many of her most brilliant successes, but the war was, so far as Great Britain was concerned, somewhat unsuccessful on land, except at the close, in Egypt and in

India, where, during Lord Wellesley's rule (1798-1805), important victories were won (Ch. XXXIX, and for India pp. 516-18). Meantime, fear of the French doctrines spreading to England caused Pitt to pass some severe laws in order to repress any revolutionary movements, and led to the predominance of the Tory and the break-up of the Whig party (pp. 571-2). In Ireland there was much unrest, which finally led to the Rebellion of 1798; Pitt succeeded in passing the Act of Union in 1800, though he failed to overcome the king's opposition to the Roman Catholic claims and consequently resigned (pp. 580-3). During this period many men great in Literature or Art died, such as Samuel Johnson and Burke (p. 567), Gibbon the historian, and the poet Burns; and amongst painters, Reynolds, Gainsborough, and Romney.

The *Third* portion of the reign of George III (1802-20) was mainly occupied with the Napoleonic War (1803-15), which began with Napoleon's attempted invasion of England and the campaign of Trafalgar (1803-5). Then followed Napoleon's series of famous victories and his attempt to strangle British trade; our retaliatory measures finally led to war with the United States in 1814. Wellington's Peninsular Campaign (1809-14) had no small share in bringing about Napoleon's downfall, which eventually came after the Russian campaign of 1812 and the Leipzig campaign of 1813. On Napoleon's escape from Elba occurred the campaign of Waterloo in 1815; and then followed the reconstruction of Europe through the Congress of Vienna and the Treaty of Paris (Ch. XL). The war had been conducted by a series of Tory Ministries (pp. 572-4), and after it was over there was considerable distress which led to many riots (pp. 603-5). The period is an important one in our Imperial history, because of the acquisition of Malta and the Cape of Good Hope (p. 560); and the rule of Lord Wellesley (1798-1805) and of Lord Hastings (1814-23) in India (pp. 512-9); in our Industrial history, amongst other things, for the first steamer and the first locomotive engine (p. 587); in the history of humanity for the abolition of the Slave Trade in 1807 (p. 574), and the first Factory Law in 1802 (p. 596); and in literature, chiefly, perhaps, for the sonnets of Wordsworth and the beginning of Scott's Waverley Novels.

In arrangement, Ch. XXXVII deals with the American War of Independence, Ch. XXXVIII with the relations of Great Britain and India from 1763 to 1823, Ch. XXXIX with the Revolutionary, and Ch. XL with the Napoleonic Wars. Domestic affairs during George III's reign up to 1815 are outlined in Ch. XLI, whilst Ch. XLII attempts a review of Irish history from 1689-1815. The first section of Ch. XLIII describes the "Industrial Revolution" before 1815.

For list of chief dates of period see end of volume.

XXXVII. Great Britain and her Relations with America after the Seven Years' War, 1763-83

We must now resume the story of the great series of wars in which Great Britain was engaged during the eighteenth century. The twenty years that follow the Seven Years' War are, if amongst the most interesting, certainly also amongst the most disappointing in the history of our empire. Great Britain and her empire, 1763-83. The Seven Years' War had left Great Britain triumphant. She had then, however, to organize her empire. But, at this most critical period, the king and the aristocracy which governed Great Britain were unsympathetic, and, above all, ignorant. The ministries were constantly changing and had no settled convictions; and later, Lord North's ministry, though more stable—it lasted from 1769-82—was also more incompetent. Above all, there was no great statesman capable of dealing with the situation, except perhaps William Pitt, who was too ill to make more than fitful appearances, and Edmund Burke, who never held high office. And so Great Britain went blundering forward, and lost the larger part of her empire in the West, whilst she with difficulty held her own in the East. Learning by experience is proverbially costly; but our statesmen made the cost in these twenty years unnecessarily high.

The difficulties, however, which were to arise with our American colonies were not solely due to British statesmen. Our very success in the Seven Years' War made our position in North America one of peculiar difficulty. Influence of Seven Years' War on American colonies. "With the triumph of Wolfe on the Heights of Abraham", wrote a distinguished historian, "began the history of the United States." The conquest of Canada freed the American colonies from danger of absorption by the French; and by so doing enabled them to become independent of the mother country. Above all, the great expenses that fell, as a consequence of the war, upon the mother country led to an attempt to tax the colonies, which caused both the Puritan

democrats of the North and the Anglican, aristocratic, and slave-owning planters of the South to unite for the first time in a common opposition.

Up till the end of the Seven Years' War, no other colonies in the world had been so well treated as those in British America. In matters of government the colonies had no great grievances. The governor of each colony was, however, generally appointed by the Crown, and there were plenty of minor disputes between the governors and the colonial assemblies; and the British Parliament could—and did occasionally—pass laws which were binding upon the colonies. In matters of trade, Great Britain no doubt regarded her colonies as a source of wealth. Consequently some

Trade restrictions. of the chief colonial products, such as tobacco and cotton, could be exported only to Great Britain. The manufacture in America of steel or woollen goods, or even of hats, was limited or forbidden, so as not to compete with British imports. All goods from Europe had first to be landed in Great Britain, and the colonies were also subject to the Navigation Act. No one now denies that these restrictions were unwise; but it must be remembered that Great Britain erred in company with all other mother countries—only to a less degree. Moreover, the colonies had compensations. Many of their products, such as grain and fish and rum, they could export where they liked. If the American colonies were only allowed to send their tobacco to Great Britain, the inhabitants of Great Britain were only allowed to smoke American tobacco. And the restrictions on American trade were largely evaded by systematic smuggling.

It was the attempted suppression of this smuggling that first aroused the opposition of the American colonies. *George Grenville* had succeeded Bute as prime minister in 1763. Grenville's policy, 1763-5. Being a lawyer and accustomed to examine details, he made inquiries, and found that the revenue from the American customs was only about £2000 a year, and not unnaturally he tried to put some check on the vast amount of smuggling which these small figures indicated—a step strongly resented by the Americans. Shortly afterwards Grenville decided that it was necessary for the defence of the American colonies,

not only against the French but against the Indian tribes, to keep a small standing army in America. He was probably right in this decision. And, considering the financial position of the mother country, Grenville was not unreasonable in thinking that the colonies themselves should contribute something towards their own defence. For the resources of Great Britain were being subjected to a severe test. The Seven Years' War had nearly doubled the National Debt. Taxation was heavy and included even taxes on wheels and window panes. Moreover, Britain's position was threatened by a coalition of France and Spain, countries which were preparing for an attack in the near future.

Nor was Grenville's particular proposal unreasonable. He suggested that the colonies should pay one-third of the expense of this army by means of an Act under which all legal documents should bear stamps. Moreover, he put ^{The Stamp Act, 1765.} forward this proposal in a very tentative and moderate way. He allowed a year's delay for its discussion, and told the agents of the colonies that, if the colonies would raise the money in any other way, he would be quite content; and only when they failed to suggest any alternative scheme was the *Stamp Act* passed through the British Parliament (1765). Was Grenville justified in producing his Stamp Act? Legally the British Parliament had undoubtedly the right to pass the Stamp Act imposing this taxation on the colonies. But it was natural that a liberty-loving people should object to being taxed by a Parliament in which they were unrepresented, and which belonged to a country three thousand miles away that would lessen its own burdens by the amount of money it could raise from them. "No taxation without representation" has been the watchword of English liberty; and it proved a cry which it was difficult for Englishmen to resist. Consequently the colonies used the year which Grenville had allowed them not for discussion but for agitation. When the Act was finally passed and came into operation, there were riots, a governor's house was sacked,¹ and stamp collectors burnt in effigy. No one used the stamps; and—most ominous of all—

¹ Unfortunately it contained an invaluable collection of historical papers and books, which were all destroyed.

delegates from nine out of the thirteen colonies met together to protest, thus showing a unity of purpose which they had never before exhibited.

The opinions of British statesmen differed when news of these proceedings reached England. The king and Grenville were for Great Britain's legal rights. Others, like Burke, thought the Act inexpedient, and were not concerned with its legality. Pitt thought that the British Parliament had no right to tax the colonies, and proclaimed that the Americans would be slaves if they had not resisted. Meanwhile, on Grenville's retirement from office, Rockingham succeeded as prime minister. Adopting a conciliatory policy, he repealed the Stamp Act, though an Act was passed at the same time declaring that Great Britain had a right to tax the colonies. The Americans were delighted; and all danger of serious trouble seemed to be at an end.

Great questions, however, when they are once raised, seldom lie dormant for long. Moreover, on the American side, there were extremists who wished to reduce British control to a vanishing-point, and who were on the lookout for quarrels to effect their purpose. The character of the colonists in the north—and, above all, in Boston, the capital of Massachusetts—was, in Pitt's phrase, "umbrageous" (i.e. they took umbrage easily) and quarrelsome, and their conduct was sometimes very irritating to the mother country. Meantime, at home, the politicians were not statesmen enough to deal with a difficult situation. As a consequence a series of disputes, insignificant in themselves, became by exaggeration and misunderstanding so magnified that finally, as has been said, one side saw in coercion and the other in secession the only solution of the difficulty.

The first dispute was due to a brilliant and unreliable man, by name *Townshend*, who was Chancellor of the Exchequer in Lord Chatham's ministry. In 1767, at a time when Chatham was totally incapacitated by illness, Townshend announced his intention of raising an income of £40,000 a year by imposing duties on tea, glass, and paper imported into the American colonies. He contended

Repeal of
Stamp Act,
1766.

Development
of quarrel.

Townshend's
new duties,
1767, and
their partial
abolition, 1769.

that as these were external taxes levied at the ports, and not internal taxes, the colonists could not object. It is needless to say that they did object, and the agitation, led by the men of Massachusetts, was reopened. Accordingly, in 1770, *Lord North's* ministry—which had come into office in that year, and was to remain in power for the next twelve years—gave way, and the duties on glass and paper were abolished. But, with incredible folly, the duty on tea was retained, in order to assert the right of taxing.

Small incidents are easily exaggerated when two peoples are irritated with one another, and it was unfortunate that at this time various occurrences exasperated feeling on both sides. We can only refer to two of these incidents. Unfortunate incidents,
1770-3. British regiments had been subjected to various kinds of insult from the townspeople in Boston. Finally a mob surrounded some soldiers, and after calling them "Rascals, lobsters, and bloody backs",¹ proceeded to snowball them. In the confusion a volley was fired, and three people were killed. The affair was magnified into a massacre, even into "the massacre", by the colonists, and great indignation was aroused (1770). The other incident inflamed feeling in Great Britain. One of the king's ships, which was engaged in repressing smuggling, was boarded one night by some American colonists and burnt (1772), and the perpetrators of this outrage were never punished.

Other events soon afterwards finally brought about war. Lord North, in order to assist the East India Company—at that time in great financial difficulties—allowed it to export its tea direct to America without going to Great Britain The Boston Tea-party,
1773. first; consequently the Company would not only save expense by making a shorter journey, but would also avoid paying any duty in Great Britain, and would only have to pay the small duty levied on tea imported into America. The more extreme of the colonists, however, thought this was only a trick of the Government in order to reconcile the colonists to the tax by cheapening the cost of tea, and were determined that the tea should not be allowed to be brought into America whilst the duty existed. When the ships of the Company arrived in *Boston*

¹ Because they were liable to be flogged.

a number of men disguised as Mohawks boarded, and threw their three hundred and forty chests of tea into the sea (1773).

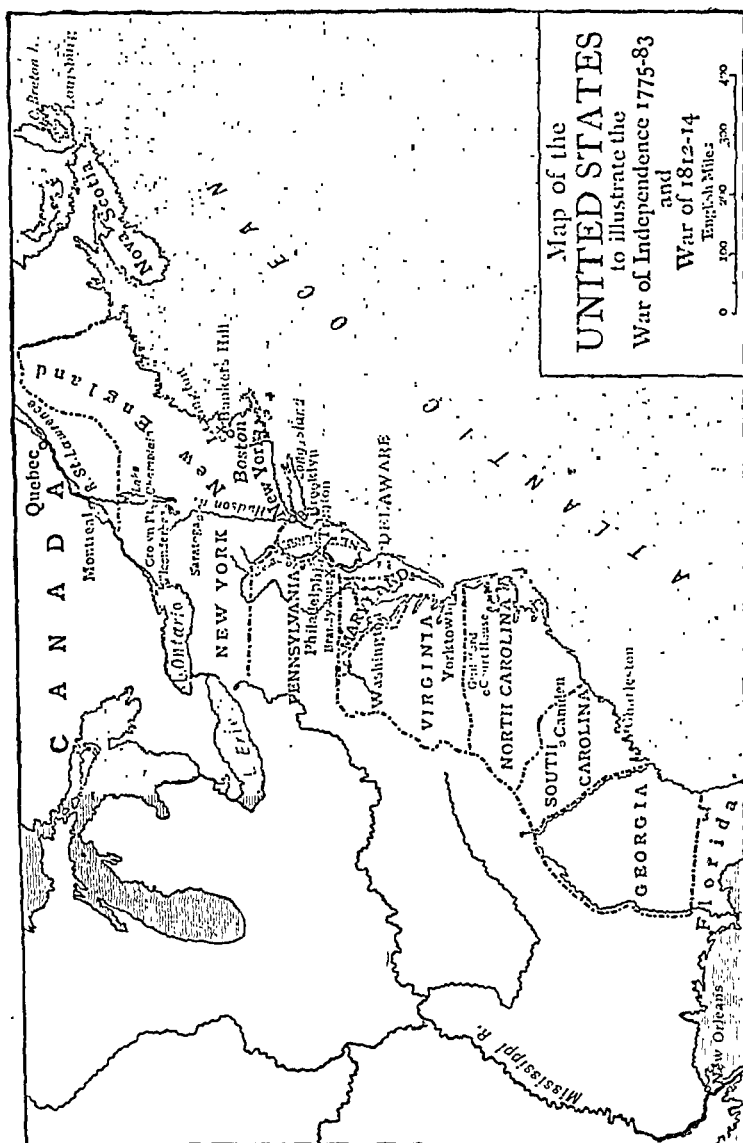
Great Britain could scarcely be expected to pass over such lawlessness. Acts were passed suspending the constitution of Massachusetts and closing the port of Boston. Gage, ^{Outbreak of war, 1775.} a soldier, was made Governor of Massachusetts, and additional troops were sent out. The other colonies, however, supported Massachusetts, and a Congress representing all the colonies except Georgia was held at Philadelphia. Lord North then tried conciliation, but it was too late. A skirmish had already taken place at Lexington (1775), and the war had begun. The incidents narrated above seem scarcely adequate to occasion a great war, but we must not forget that below them lay important issues. "The real difficulty", it has been well said, "was that Great Britain would not consent to a partnership, which was the only solution, but insisted upon a dependency. The American colonies therefore hardened their hearts, and would accept nothing short of independence." The self-governing colony was to be a product of the next century.

To conduct a campaign¹ three thousand miles away, in a country a thousand miles long and covered with forest, was, for Great Britain, a difficult task. But the task should not have been insuperable, considering the circumstances of her opponents. The American

The War of
American
Independence,
1775-83.

¹ The following summary of the war will make it more intelligible:—

Political History	Military Operations—(v) victory; (d) defeat	
1775. Congress assumes sovereign authority.	Lexington, Boston blockaded; Bunker's Hill. American expedition to Canada.	
1776. July 4. Declaration of Independence.	Evacuation of Boston; Brooklyn (v); capture of New York; occupation of New Jersey; Trenton (d).	
1777.	Brandywine (v); Saratoga (d). (a) <i>America</i> (b) <i>Maritime and India</i>	
1778. France declares war v. England; death of Chatham.	Evacuation of Philadelphia.	
1779. Spain declares war v. England.	Savannah captured (v).	Siege of Gibraltar begins.
1780. Holland declares war v. England. Armed Neutrality.	Charlestown captured (v); Camden (v); execution of André.	Hyder Ali invades Carnatic.
1781.	Guildford (v); Yorktown (d).	Porto Novo (v).
1782. Lord North resigns; negotiations for peace		Loss of Minorca (d); battle of Saints off St. Lucia (v); Siege of Gibraltar raised (v).
1783. Peace of Versailles.		



colonist did not like moving far from his home. Moreover, he only enlisted for short periods, and therefore might leave, and not infrequently did leave, his fellow-colonists in the crisis of a campaign. He was, besides, inclined to be insubordinate, "regarding", said one general, "his officer as no more than a broomstick", especially if serving under the command of officers from any other colony but his own. The Congress, which supervised the generals, was loquacious and incompetent, whilst "peculation and speculation", in the words of the commander-in-chief, were rife amongst the contractors. And finally, a large number of the colonists were either loyal to the mother country or indifferent to the cause of both combatants.

But the British made the mistake—not unusual with them—of underestimating their enemy; one expert, for instance, declared that four regiments would be sufficient to conquer America. Moreover, they made inadequate preparations for the dispatch of reinforcements to the army in America when they saw that war was probable; and they began the war in a half-hearted way, with ideas of conciliation and compromise, forgetting "that it is impossible to wage war on the principles of peace". The British, also, not only failed to produce a great general, and fought largely with hired German troops, but possessed in Lord George Germaine—the Lord George Sackville who refused to charge at Minden—a minister of war who was to exhibit conspicuous incapacity. The colonists, on the other hand, had in a Virginian planter, *George Washington* by name, a man as commander-in-chief who, without being perhaps a great general, was a thorough gentleman, upright and truthful, untiring in organization, and persistently courageous and steadfast even in the darkest periods of the war.¹

During the *first three years* of the war (1775-7) the British missed their opportunities. The military operations of the first year (1775) centred round *Boston*, which was held by the British troops. The campaign opened with an attempt made by a detachment from these

Lexington and
Bunker's Hill,
1775.

¹ Washington came of an old American family, and was a country gentleman of wealth and position. He had fought against the French and Indians before and during the Seven Years' War, having been made adjutant of the Virginian forces at the age of nineteen and commander-in-chief at the age of twenty-three; in Braddock's unfortunate expedition of 1754 he had shown great bravery, and had four shot-holes in his coat.

troops to seize some military stores a few miles away from Boston; on its way back to Boston it was somewhat severely handled, especially at *Lexington*. This attack showed that the Americans would fight, but the British commander, General *Gage*, was both over-confident and dilatory. He made a quite unnecessary frontal attack upon an entrenched position on the top of a hill situated on a peninsula overlooking Boston, and known as *Bunker's Hill*. It is not surprising that his forces, burdened with three days' provisions, and marching through long grass on a hot midsummer day, should have only succeeded in taking the hill at the third attempt, and with the loss of two-fifths of their number. Later on *Gage* wasted his opportunities by not vigorously attacking *Washington*, who was besieging Boston with hardly any ammunition. Fortunately, however, a brilliant attack by the Americans upon Canada failed in its chief object, the capture of *Quebec*, owing to its able defence by *Carleton*. Moreover, in 1774, the British Government had passed an Act, known as the *Quebec Act*, which by judicious concessions, especially with regard to the Roman Catholic religion, had conciliated the French Canadians; and hence the invading army found no support in Canada.

In the second year (1776) *Howe* was the British commander. Capable but indolent, he was, as a strong Whig, inclined to sympathize with the American cause. He evacuated Boston and took his troops south to Long Island. There he defeated *Washington's* troops at *Brooklyn*.

*Howe's
operations,
1776.*

But his victory was not decisive owing to his failure to pursue the enemy; and his negligence gave *Washington* the opportunity of withdrawing all his troops the night after the battle across the mile of water that separated the island from the mainland. *Howe* followed and took New York, though tradition says that his presence at a luncheon party prevented his capturing a large detached force; he then defeated *Washington* in another battle, overran New Jersey, and occupied the country up to the river Delaware before going into winter quarters. The outlook was black for the colonists; but at the end of the year the American fortunes revived with a brilliant attack by *Washington* upon a Hessian regiment, which was cut to pieces on Christmas Day

at *Trenton*, one of the advanced posts on the Delaware, whilst the Hessians were celebrating the occasion not wisely but too well.

The third year (1777) witnessed a muddle which ended in a great disaster for the mother country. There were two plans proposed to the British Government for the year's operations. The first was that of Burgoyne, who was a member of Parliament and a playwright as well as a general, and who had been given command of the army of the north. He was to advance south from Canada and Howe was to advance north from New York. The two forces were to unite, hold the line of the river Hudson, and isolate the New England colonies. The other plan was that of Howe, who wanted to attack Philadelphia. Lord George Germaine agreed to both, but by a piece of gross carelessness did not—till too late—give Howe definite instructions so to arrange his attack upon Philadelphia as to be able to return in time to co-operate with the expedition from Canada.¹ Consequently *Burgoyne* never obtained the expected help from the south on which his success depended. He took *Ticonderoga*, but his difficulties increased as he progressed. His Indian allies deserted because of the hunting season coming on. The country was thickly wooded and military supplies were inadequate. Finally, outnumbered by four to one, he had to surrender with four thousand men at *Saratoga* (October). That surrender was decisive in the history of the war. The nations of Europe had been looking with no friendly eye on Great Britain. A disaster of that magnitude converted their unfriendliness into hostility, and France, two months after she had heard of it, concluded an alliance with the "United States".² Meantime Howe had won Philadelphia, and defeated Washington once again at the battle of *Brandywine*, whose army was consequently reduced to the direst straits—but Howe's success lay lightly in the balance against *Saratoga*.

¹ There is a story that a letter with such instructions had been drafted in time at the War Office, but that Germaine went out of town before it was fair-copied, and forgot to sign and send it.

² As the revolting colonies were called after the "Declaration of Independence" had been issued in the previous year.

During the next three years (1778-80) our enemies gradually increased, and the sphere of our military operations was correspondingly extended. France joined in the war Extension of war, 1778-80. against us in 1778, and Spain in 1779. Moreover, neutral powers claimed that belligerents had no right to capture enemy's goods on board a neutral ship. This doctrine—briefly called “free ships free goods”—Great Britain did not recognize; and disputes over this, and over the definition of what articles should be included in contraband of war, led in 1780 to the British declaring war on Holland, and to Russia, Denmark, and Sweden threatening hostilities upon Great Britain by forming an Armed Neutrality. As a consequence of these fresh enemies, the war spread to the West Indies—with which at that time one-quarter of British trade was carried on—and to India, whilst in the Mediterranean Gibraltar was besieged. Great Britain was in an extremely critical position. The French navy had been much improved, and the British fleets were not sufficiently superior to cripple the French fleets at the outset of the war. Moreover, Great Britain had not, as in former years, a continental ally to absorb the French energies in a campaign on land. Under these circumstances modern military critics think that the British should have confined their efforts to blockading the enemy's ports. Instead of that the fleet was scattered, and the British tried to hold too many isolated positions. But, unfortunately, Chatham, who might have conducted such a mighty war on sound principles, died in 1778, and from the other politicians of the period it was hopeless to expect great or consistent designs.

In America, also, the conditions were entirely altered after 1777. Great Britain no longer held command of the sea, and the French fleet was to form a decisive factor. We must briefly review the events. In 1778 The war in America, 1778-81. Clinton, the new commander, evacuated Philadelphia and retired to New York. In 1780 the British determined to undertake operations in the south, as there were many loyalists there. Charlestown, the capital of South Carolina, along with its six thousand defenders, was brilliantly captured. Cornwallis, the most energetic of the British generals, beat Gates, the conqueror of Saratoga, at *Camden*. He then invaded North Carolina, and

in 1781 defeated Greene, the best of the American generals, at *Guildford Court-House*, though with severe losses to himself. Finally, he advanced into Virginia and effected a junction with another force.

The Americans were now in despair. But meanwhile what had been gained in the south whilst Cornwallis was there was

lost after his departure, owing to the small number of troops he could leave behind. Moreover, The surrender at York Town, 1781.

Clinton would not or could not spare any reinforcements from New York for the further operations of Cornwallis himself. The latter, therefore, retired to the coast, to *York Town*, expecting to be supported by the British fleet. But he was blockaded instead by the French fleet which the British admirals in the West Indies had failed to defeat, and Washington arrived in command of a superior force to cut off his retreat by land. The position of Cornwallis was then hopeless; and, after an attempt to break out, he was forced to surrender (1781). The navy, as someone said at the time, "had the casting vote in the contest"; and the surrender at York Town practically ended the war. Charlestown was subsequently recaptured by the colonists, and only New York was left to the British.

Elsewhere things had been going badly. Nearly all the West Indian islands were lost, except Barbados and Jamaica. Gibraltar

was hard pressed. The British position in India was precarious. Early in 1782 Minorca was captured by The war elsewhere, 1779-82.

the French, an event which led to the fall of Lord North's ministry. But two successes in that year enabled Great Britain to retire from the war with some credit. In April, Rodney fought the French fleet off Dominique in the West Indies in a battle known as the "*Battle of the Saints*". He won a great victory, his fleet succeeding in breaking through the French line-of-battle, and the French flagship itself being captured.¹ In September a combined attack upon *Gibraltar* by the

¹ When war broke out between France and Great Britain, Rodney was at Paris in an impecunious condition, and his creditors refused to let him go home. A French nobleman, however, chivalrously came to his rescue with a loan, and Rodney returned. During his two and a half years of command in the American War, Rodney captured a French, a Spanish, and a Dutch admiral, and added twelve line-of-battle ships, all taken from the enemy, to the British navy, including the *Ville de Paris*, the great ship which the city of Paris had given to the French king.

French and Spaniards with forty-nine ships of the line and ten floating batteries on the sea side, and with an army of forty thousand men on the land side, signally failed, owing to the pertinacity of Elliott, the governor, and the seven thousand men under his command. Shortly afterwards a British fleet brought final relief to the garrison, which had withstood a siege for three years seven months and twelve days.

Overtures of peace were then made, and in 1783 treaties were concluded at Versailles. The independence of the United States was recognized, and, in spite of their efforts to save them, the British had to leave such of the loyalists The Treaties of Versailles, 1783. who did not emigrate to Canada to the mercy or rather to the vengeance of their fellow-colonists. Great Britain gave up to Spain, Minorca and Florida; and to France, Tobago, Senegal, and Goree, besides restoring to her St. Lucia and the Indian settlements which had been taken from France during the war.

The American War of Independence deprived Great Britain of one empire; but it strengthened the foundations of another, which may one day be even greater. The loyalists who had remained faithful to the mother country in the war found their position so intolerable in the Influence of war upon Canada. United States that a great many of them—known subsequently as the United Empire Loyalists—emigrated to Canada, east of the districts occupied by the French. There they multiplied and prospered. But the differences of race, religion, and temperament caused friction between the French and the English; and finally the British Government in 1791—by the Canada Act—divided Canada into two parts, an eastern and a western, nominating a governor to each, and allowing to each a certain amount of self-government. For a time this arrangement worked. And in the war of 1812 the United States found that their attempt to detach Canada from her loyalty, either by negotiation or by coercion, was to fail. But later, grave difficulties arose with the mother country, the final solution of which, however, as we shall see, was more successful than in the case of the United States.

XXXVIII. Great Britain and India, 1763-1823

We turn from the West to the East, from America to India, where these twenty years, from 1763-83, are hardly less important. Two things must be borne in mind. First, Condition of India, 1763. India was still in a state of anarchy. The boundaries of States were constantly shifting; there was no such thing, it was said at the time, as a frontier in India. Adventurers sprang up who carved out new States for themselves, or usurped the thrones of old ones; and the Great Mogul Emperor was under the tutelage now of one potentate and then of another. In the second place, the East India Company was in a very undefined and uncertain position after the Seven Years' War was over. The Nabob of the Carnatic and the Nizam of Hyderabad were its allies. It possessed some territory, but not much, on the east coast, and round Bombay and Madras. In Bengal, however, its position was peculiar. Except for Calcutta and some districts near it, the Nabob still governed that province. But he was the Company's nominee, and—put briefly—it may be said that his object was to extract as much money as possible from the country, whilst the Company's officials collected from the Nabob what money and privileges they could obtain, collectively for the Company and individually for themselves.

Such a position in Bengal was bound to lead to difficulties, and it very quickly did. The Nabob who had succeeded Meer Jaffier quarrelled with the Company, massacred some Europeans at Patna, and fled to his neighbour, the Nabob of Oudh. Both Nabobs, however, were defeated at the decisive battle of *Buxar* (1764). It was necessary then to regulate our position. Fortunately *Clive* became Governor of Bengal six months after the battle, and in the short space of twenty-two months made great changes (1765-7). In the first

Clive's reforms, 1765-7.

place, he obtained from the Mogul Emperor the financial administration of Bengal and Behar; and thus the East India Company became practically the governors of a country three-

quarters the size of France. Secondly, he made an alliance with the Nabob of Oudh, his idea being that the Nabob's territory might be a useful buffer against aggressions from the west, either on the part of the Mahrattas or the Afghans. Thirdly, and above all, he supplemented the inadequate salaries of the officials, and forbade them to take part in private trading—thus initiating the series of reforms which was eventually to make the British rule in India, so far as British officials at all events were concerned, perhaps the purest in the world. It is sad to think that Clive should have come home to be attacked in Parliament for corruption,¹ and soon afterwards, under stress of disease and anxiety, to commit suicide (1774).

Trade and not conquest had in the past been the object of the East India Company, good dividends rather than warlike distinctions. Consequently the British Government had not interfered with the Company, beyond re-
The Regulating Act, 1773.
 newing its charter from time to time. But now that the Company had become the owner of a vast territory, the British Government was bound to assume some portion of the responsibility, more especially as after Clive's departure matters fell into great confusion. Consequently, in 1773, a *Regulating Act* was passed. A governor-general and council of four members were appointed, with control over all the Company's possessions in India. Hence some unity of control was secured. But the Act was in other respects unsatisfactory. The governor-general was liable to be much hampered by the council, and both were exposed to some interference from the judges who were appointed under the same Act.

The first governor-general was *Warren Hastings*.² Thwarted now by the council, now by the incompetent governments of Bombay or Madras, with a temper, as he said, "almost fermented into vinegar by the weight of
Warren Hastings Governor-general, 1774-85.
 affairs and by everlasting teasing", he yet man-

¹ It was in the course of his examination before a parliamentary committee that Clive, describing the temptations to which he was subjected, exclaimed, "By God, Mr. Chairman, at this moment I stand astonished at my own moderation!"

² He was a Westminster boy, and had been sent to India at an early age, to the great grief of his headmaster, who thought his classical attainments would be wasted in that arid and commercial atmosphere.

aged to do a vast amount. He divided Bengal into districts for purposes of government, arranged its land revenue, and organized its civil service.

Above all, Warren Hastings by his resourcefulness and courage saved our position in India at a critical time. The disaster at

India during
the War of
American
Independence,
1778-82.

Saratoga and the consequent alliance of the French with the colonists had its effect upon affairs in the East no less than in the West. French agents intrigued with the Mahrattas, and Warren Hastings

found himself involved in a war with fighting tribes who were almost a match for our arms. Moreover, in Southern India the French secured in Suffren an admiral, and in Hyder Ali an ally who brought our Indian Empire to the verge of ruin. Hyder Ali, who had usurped the throne of Mysore, was, though ignorant of the alphabet, a very remarkable man. In alliance with the French, he suddenly invaded the plains of the Carnatic, and in three weeks had wellnigh extinguished our power (1780).¹ But Hastings was equal to the occasion. Within twenty-four hours of hearing the news at Calcutta he had made his plan of campaign. Every available man and munition of war was hurried south, and the veteran Eyre Coote—the victor of Wandewash—was appointed to direct the operations. After arduous campaigns, Coote, in 1781, won at *Porto Novo*, though outnumbered by ten to one, a decisive battle, and in the following year Hyder Ali died. At sea, meanwhile, Suffren had found in Hughes as tough a fighter as himself, though a weaker tactician, and, whilst his own captains were jealous and insubordinate, those of Hughes were unselfish and devoted. Five sea-battles were fought in little more than a year, but Suffren was unable to claim a decided advantage.² Our position in India was saved, and treaties were finally made both with the Mahrattas and with Tippoo Sahib, Hyder Ali's successor, the one shortly before and the other shortly after the Treaty of Versailles of 1783.

Warren Hastings had not only, however, to fight and to organize,

¹ There is a celebrated description of this invasion, and of the havoc it wrought, in Burke's speech on the Debts of the Nabob of Arcot.

² After the war was over, the French and part of the British fleet met at the Cape of Good Hope, and the captains of the British ships at once hastened in a body to pay their respects to the great French commander.

but also to secure dividends for the shareholders of the East India Company. His expenses, indeed, were so great that he committed actions for which he was im-^{Charges against Warren Hastings.}peached soon after his return home. Into the details of his famous trial, which lasted for a hundred and forty-five days and lingered over seven years (1788-95), we have no space to enter. He was finally acquitted, but Burke, the great orator of Warren Hastings' time, and Macaulay, the great historian of a subsequent generation, unsparingly condemned him. Of some charges, however, modern investigations show that he was quite innocent. He did not, for instance, connive at the hanging of a famous Hindoo, Nuncomar by name, on an unjust charge of forgery because Nuncomar was on the point of exposing Hastings' own acts of corruption.¹ Nor did he, in order to extort money very unjustly from the blameless mother and grandmother of the Nabob of Oudh, cruelly torturing their blameless ministers; the truth being that the Begums—as the mother and grandmother were called—had departed from Oudh with a large sum of money which really belonged to the State, and that probably only slight coercion was needed to induce the ministers to return it.

In other matters Warren Hastings may have acted unwisely, as, for instance, when he let troops out on hire to the Nabob of Oudh for the suppression of the Rohillas, a turbulent tribe of Afghans; or inflicted upon the Rajah of Benares an enormous fine because he refused to pay a sum of money for the expenses of the war. But though it is impossible to justify everything that Clive or Hastings did, we must remember that to the former is due the beginning of our Empire in India, and that the latter not only succeeded in retaining, in the darkest days of our Imperial existence, every acre of land that we then possessed in India, but in leaving our dominions strengthened and organized. Warren Hastings is a not unworthy beginner of that long line of governor-generals and viceroys of whom it has been said that they represent a higher level of ruling qualities than has been attained by any line of hereditary sovereigns, or by any line of elected presidents.

¹ Nuncomar was hanged for forgery, but there is no reason for believing that the decision was an unjust one, or that Warren Hastings had anything to do with it.

It may be convenient at this stage to proceed with the history of India during the forty years after Warren Hastings' retirement from India. Lord North's Regulating Act of 1773 had proved a failure. Consequently, just previously to the retirement of Warren Hastings, the younger Pitt passed, in 1784, an Act reorganizing the government of our possessions in India. The governor-general was given greater powers, and henceforth, subject to a Board of Control sitting in London, directed the politics and the diplomacy of our Indian Empire. In future the governor-general was, as a rule, a person of high birth and connections sent out from Great Britain; and as both the governor-general and the Board of Control were appointed by the king acting on the advice of his ministers, the British Government became directly responsible for our Indian policy. In the appointment of other officials, however, and in matters of trade the East India Company was left supreme, though the Government had to confirm the higher appointments.

The first governor-general under the new system was the *Marquis Cornwallis* (1786-93), the defender of York Town. In his administration three points deserve notice. In the first place, by his own personal example and by his measures he still further purified the administration. Secondly, he made in Bengal a permanent settlement of the land revenue, by which the tax-collectors in that province—*zemindars* as they were called—were practically converted into landlords paying a fixed rent to the government, a policy the expediency of which has been much debated. Thirdly, though he left Great Britain with the intention of pursuing a peaceful policy, he found himself obliged to make war on Tippoo Sahib of Mysore. After a skilful campaign he was successful, and forced his adversary to make peace and to lose half his territories.¹

After an interval, Richard Wellesley, better known as the *Marquis Wellesley*, the elder brother of the great soldier who eventually became Duke of Wellington, was made governor-general. A brilliant scholar at Eton, he obtained this office

¹ Cornwallis found, like subsequent viceroys, that his work was very laborious and harassing. "I have a great deal more business every day", he wrote to his son at Eton, "than you have in a whole school-day, and I never get a whole holiday."

at the age of thirty-five. He found on his arrival in India, in 1798, a situation which required the exercise of all his abilities. French ambitions were reviving. French officers, by drilling and organizing the troops of native rulers, had not only improved those troops immensely but had obtained very great influence for themselves—one of them was deified after his death and is still worshipped in Southern India. Tippoo Sahib, who proved himself a hard-working ruler as well as a brave and resourceful soldier, had made an alliance with the French in order to realize his supreme object—the downfall of the British. Above all, three weeks after Wellesley reached Madras, Napoleon himself started on the Egyptian expedition, and, if successful, might have proceeded to India (p. 528).

Marquis
Wellesley
Governor-
general,
1798-1805.

Into the details of Wellesley's great proconsulship limits of space forbid us to enter, and we must only allude to its chief results. First, Wellesley persuaded the Nizam of Hyderabad to expel the French officers in his service, and arranged that, in return for the Nizam giving up part of his territory, the East India Company should maintain an army for his defence. Then he turned against Tippoo Sahib, and the brilliant capture of *Seringapatam* by Baird resulted in Tippoo's death.¹ A large part of Mysore was annexed by the Company, a small part was given to the Nizam, and the remainder was handed over to the representative of the old Hindu dynasty which had ruled there before its expulsion by Hyder Ali. Other annexations in Southern India followed, the result of which was that most of the Carnatic came under direct British control. Hence our territories in the south were enormously extended.

Wellesley's
policy in
the south.

In the north, Wellesley's operations were no less important. He made a treaty with the Nabob of Oudh similar to that made with the Nizam, the Company in exchange for territory, including Rohilcund, maintaining an army for the Nabob's defence. War subsequently followed with some of the Mahratta leaders, of whom the most formidable was

Wellesley's
policy in
the north.

¹ He was buried with military honours under an escort of British grenadiers, and his family was taken under British protection. The last of his sons, whom Queen Victoria was much interested in seeing in 1854, died in Calcutta in 1877.

Sindhia, whose troops had been trained by French officers. Arthur Wellesley—the future Duke of Wellington—won the battles of *Assaye* and *Argaum* in 1803, the former by an attack of superb audacity against an army twice his strength. Lake won the battle of *Laswarri* and captured Delhi, and with its capture the Mogul emperor came under British control. Later on came a war with Holkar, another Mahratta leader, whose irregular horse were famous throughout India. Against him our army met with a disaster, and the East India Company and the British Government, already frightened by the immensity of the recent annexations, and the cost of the military operations, recalled Wellesley in 1805. (Under Wellesley important reforms had been made in administration. But it is chiefly for his extension of our empire that he is remembered; for in the space of seven years he had made our territories continuous from Delhi to Calcutta and from Calcutta to Cape Comorin; he had destroyed or weakened our most dangerous foes; he had closed India to the French, and had exalted Great Britain to be the suzerain power in India.)

For nearly ten years after Wellesley's departure little occurred in India. It was a period of inaction and of non-intervention.

But the anarchy in various parts of India soon necessitated British action. Enormous bands of brigands, "human jackals", roamed over Central India, burning and killing and robbing wherever they went. Sometimes these *Pindaris*, as they were called, crossed into British territory and did immense damage. Such a state of things could not continue, and on *Lord Hastings*' arrival as governor-general (1814-23) our policy was changed into one of action. Lord Hastings first had a war with *Nepaul*—the home of the brave Gurkhas—which led to some annexation of territory and to a satisfactory settlement of our relations with that country. In 1817 came the struggle with the Pindaris, which led also to a war with the Mahrattas. The result was that both Pindaris and Mahrattas submitted; a good deal of territory was annexed, including the territories of the Peshwa of Poona, whilst the boundaries of the various native states in the centre of India were delimited. There for the present we may leave Indian

Lord
Hastings
Governor-
general,
1814-23.

affairs. Thanks chiefly to Wellesley and Hastings, the British power had been substituted in India for that of the Great Mogul. That eastern empire which had been the dream of Napoleon's ambition had become an accomplished fact with his greatest enemies.

Nor is India the only part of our empire which was developed in the later part of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century. The discoveries of Captain Cook between 1768 and 1779 had given to Great Britain the Australia. opportunity of developing a third great continent in Australia. How the opportunity was utilized will be told later. ✓

XXXIX. The French Revolution and the Great War, 1789-1802

We revert from America and India to the affairs of Europe. Barely ten years were to elapse after the American War of Independence was over before Great Britain was plunged into a war which was to last, with one brief interval, for more than twenty years. In 1789 came the famous The French Revolution, 1789; its causes. French Revolution. France had suffered from a government which was incompetent and arbitrary, a court which was extravagant and frivolous, and an aristocracy which clung to its privileges—above all that of not contributing to the chief taxes—whilst it neglected its duties. She endured a system of taxation which had every possible fault, and which left to the poor peasant only one-fifth of his earnings for himself. Moreover, the people had no share in the government, and the States-General—which had in the Middle Ages corresponded in some measure to the English Parliament—had not met since 1614.

The close of the eighteenth century, however, found people's minds prepared for change. A brilliant writer, Voltaire, had attacked various abuses, particularly those connected with the Roman Catholic Church, and had created, it is not too much to say, the critical atmosphere of his generation. A seductive

philosopher, Rousseau, had taught people to look back to an imaginary golden age when there was no oppression and no poverty because there were no kings, no nobles, and no priests. In the same year that these two writers died, in 1778, the French monarchy had appealed to its subjects, as we have seen, to support liberty in America; it is not surprising that the French people should seek liberty for themselves when financial difficulties at last forced the king to summon the States-General in May, 1789.

France was at heart loyal, and a great king might have made reforms which would have staved off a revolution. But *Louis XVI*, the king, though well-meaning and amiable, was vacillating and undecided, whilst his queen, Marie Antoinette, though beautiful, was unpopular and indiscreet. The king had no scheme of reforms and no scheme of coercion—he merely let things drift. Consequently events moved quickly after the meeting of the *States-General* at *Versailles*. On previous occasions, the States-General had sat and voted in three estates, representing the nobles, clergy, and people respectively. But on this occasion the representatives of the people insisted on all the orders sitting and voting in one house, and by their pertinacity achieved their object. Then, on *July 14*, the men of Paris took the *Bastille*, the great fortress dominating eastern Paris—and its fall was regarded throughout Europe as the sign of the downfall of absolute monarchy in France.¹ In October, the women of Paris, impelled by fear of famine, marched to Versailles, and brought the king, the royal family, and the States-General to Paris, thinking that they would thus be sure of supplies of bread; and, as a consequence, the government and the assembly became, as time went on, increasingly subject to the influence of the Parisian populace.

The year 1790 was taken up with the task of reorganizing France—with removing abuses in Church and State, in taxation and in the law, in the army and navy. The king's attitude was uncertain, and sometimes he sided with the reformers and at

¹ To the popular imagination the Bastille was impregnable, and its dungeons were full of untried prisoners. As a matter of fact, the Bastille was only defended by a hundred and twenty soldiers, most of them old, and by fifteen cannon, only one of which was fired; and there were only seven prisoners, of whom four were forgers, two were madmen, and the other had been put there by the request of his family.

other times he opposed them. Finally, however, in June, 1791, he escaped from Paris and fled towards the eastern frontier of France. But he was captured at Varennes and brought back, a discredited monarch, and power passed more and more into the hands of the extremists. In August, 1792, the Paris mob stormed the Tuileries palace, where Louis XVI lived, and soon afterwards, in the awful September massacres, killed hundreds of people who had been imprisoned because of their suspected hostility to the Revolution. A new assembly, called the Convention, was summoned, and met towards the close of September. This assembly declared France to be a Republic, and a few months later, after long debates, the king was condemned to death and was executed (January, 1793).¹

The French Revolution, it is no exaggeration to say, affected profoundly the politics, both internal and external, of every state in Europe. Its ideas of "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity" were popular with all European peoples, whilst they aroused the apprehensions of all European monarchs. In Great Britain, at first, the Revolution was regarded with sympathy. Pitt, the son of the great Earl of Chatham and the prime minister from 1783 to 1801, watched it with no unkindly eye; he regarded it, in his own words, "as a spectator", and saw no reason why it should affect British policy. The poets, such as Wordsworth and Coleridge, saw in it the dawn of a new era of happiness and freedom; whilst Radical clergymen preached in its favour, and Radical politicians wrote frequently to its leaders and formed revolutionary

British
opinion
and the
Revolution.

¹ Marie Antoinette was guillotined during the following October. Louis XVI's son, the Dauphin, died in January, 1795, at the age of fifteen, as a result of the horrible cruelty shown to him. For six months in the year previous to his death he was in a ground-floor room, without light, and often in winter without a fire, and in solitary confinement, his meals being passed to him through a grating; at the end of that time someone visited him, and all he could murmur was "Je veux mourir".

It may be convenient here to summarize the internal history of France after the execution of the king. After the extreme section in the Convention, the Jacobin or Mountain party, had overthrown the more moderate section, the "Reign of Terror" ensued (June, 1793-July, 1794), in the last seven weeks of which nearly fourteen hundred people were sent to the guillotine in Paris alone. The extremists then lost their power, and a more moderate government followed. At the end of 1795 the Convention Assembly was dissolved, and the government was put under the control of two Assemblies and of a committee called the Directory (1795-99). Finally, in October, 1799, Napoleon after his return from Egypt overthrew the Directory, and became supreme as First Consul, and in 1804 he was elected Emperor.

societies. The Whigs thought it bore a resemblance to their own "glorious" Revolution of 1688; and Fox, the chief Whig leader, in particular gave the Revolution his enthusiastic approval, exclaiming of the capture of the Bastille, "How much the greatest event that has happened in the world, and how much the best!"

But, as the Revolution became more violent, opinion altered. Burke, the greatest of all Whigs, who from the first, unlike others

of his party, had regarded it with suspicion, published in November, 1790, his "Reflections on the French Revolution", in which he expressed his detestation of

it "in its act, consequences, and most of all in its example", and prophesied that its ultimate result would be anarchy; the book made a profound impression not only in Great Britain but in all European courts. Moreover, atrocities such as the September massacres horrified public feeling. Above all, the French revolutionaries were not content to leave other countries alone. They intrigued with revolutionaries in this country, and riots in Dundee, Sheffield, and elsewhere showed the dangers of their exhortations. In the autumn of 1792 other events occurred which hastened on war. The French proclaimed that they would give assistance to any nation that rose for its liberty—which was equivalent to a declaration of war against the monarchies of Europe. They occupied the Austrian Netherlands (they had begun war with Austria in the previous spring), and declared the river Scheldt open to commerce; this river, in order to develop the trade of Holland and Great Britain, had been for a long time, under European treaty, closed to all vessels by the Dutch government, and in declaring it thus open the French government showed a flagrant disregard of all treaty rights.¹

Moreover, France threatened to invade Holland. Once again, as on other occasions, Great Britain felt that her own independence was bound up with that of Holland. Then followed the execution of Louis XVI in the beginning of 1793; and war was declared in February. Pitt had striven to maintain peace as long as he could; but the extremists in France had made peace impossible.

¹ The estuary of the Scheldt was in Dutch territory; ever since 1648 the Dutch had been recognized as having control of it and had excluded all foreigners from it, thereby ruining Antwerp and developing the prosperity of their own port of Amsterdam.

I. The Great Coalition and its Failure, 1793-6

Great Britain was not alone in resisting France.¹ Austria and Prussia had begun war with France in the previous year, and to these allies were added Holland and, before long, Spain and Sardinia; and, as usual, Great Britain paid heavy subsidies to the powers composing this Great Coalition. That France, with her army at first a mob, with the discipline of her navy ruined by the Revolution, with the extremists in power and engaged in guillotining one another, and with Royalist risings in various districts, should have successfully resisted such a coalition is one of the marvels of history. The forces of Great Britain, Austria, and Prussia were concentrated in Belgium, and in twelve marches could have occupied Paris.

The Great Coalition against France, 1793.

¹ A summary of the war is appended here:—

THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR, 1793-1802

Political History

Military Operations

(a) Continental.

(b) Maritime.

Extra-European.

	[1792. France declares war v. Austria and Prussia.]		
The First Coalition.	1793. Execution of Louis XVI.	French driven from Netherlands.	Evacuation of Toulon.
	1794. The First Coalition.	Siege of Dunkirk. Allies retire from Netherlands, which French occupy.	First of June (v). Captures in West Indies.
	1795. Prussia and Spain leave Coalition. Directory in France.		Capture of Cape of Good Hope (v). Quiberon Bay expedition (d).
	1796.	Napoleon in Italy.	Bantry Bay expedition.
Critical Years.	1797. Austria makes peace with France.		Capture of Ceylon (v). St. Vincent (v). Mutinies of seamen. Camperdown (v).
	1798. Irish Rebellion. Wellesley Gov.-General of India.	Napoleon in Egypt.	Nile (v).
The Second Coalition.	1799. The Second Coalition. Napoleon becomes First Consul.	British expedition to Holland.	Capture of Seringapatam (v). Defence of Acre (v). Capture of Malta (v).
	1800. Act of Union with Ireland. Russia leaves Coalition and forms Armed Neutrality.	Marengo (d). Hohenlinden (d).	
	1801. Austria makes peace with France. Alexander I becomes Czar. Addington succeeds Pitt.		Copenhagen (v). Alexandria (v).
	1802. Treaty of Amiens.		Capture of Trinidad (v).
	(v) denotes victory or success (d) denotes defeat or failure } of England or her allies.		

Coalitions of European powers, however, have seldom worked harmoniously. The allies, as a contemporary said, wanted to hunt the sheep before killing the dog; instead of a joint advance upon the capital, each was intent upon securing the frontier fortresses which it could claim at the peace. Moreover, they were jealous of each other and had no commander to direct the whole operations. Meantime, the armies of France, with their country threatened, exhibited a patriotism and an enthusiasm which carried all before them. The generals represented literally the survival of the fittest, for those that failed were nearly always dismissed and sometimes guillotined. Above all, the new Government that France had evolved left the control of the war to one man, and that a man of genius, Carnot.

Consequently, though in the summer of 1793 there were eight foreign armies on French soil, and Lyons, Toulon, and Brittany had risen against the Revolution, before the end of the year these risings had been put down and all the foreign armies but one had been expelled.)

In the following year, 1794, the French drove the allies not only from Belgium but from Holland as well, and secured the Rhine frontier that they had been striving for so many centuries to obtain.¹ Holland therefore dropped out of the Coalition, and in 1795 both Prussia and Spain withdrew from it. With 1796 came Napoleon's famous campaign in Italy, in which, after invading Piedmont and forcing its ruler, the King of Sardinia, to withdraw from the war, he defeated the Austrians in a succession of battles, then marched to within ninety miles of Vienna and obliged the Austrians at the beginning of 1797 to make peace.

It must be confessed that Great Britain played a somewhat inglorious part in the military operations from 1793 to 1796.

No doubt her allies were largely to blame—Great Britain was heading a crusade, it has been said, with an army of camp followers. But her statesmen had done nothing in the years after the American war to profit

¹ In 1794 the French won sixteen pitched battles, took one hundred and sixteen towns and two hundred and thirty forts, and captured ninety thousand prisoners and three thousand eight hundred cannon; and they opened the next year with capturing the Dutch fleet, which was embedded in the ice, by a cavalry raid.

by its lessons. As a consequence, at the beginning of the French war, both officers and men, whether cavalry or infantry, were untrained, whilst the artillery was worse than at any other previous period of its history. In the course of the war, the Government, at its wits' end to get recruits, adopted the pernicious system of promoting those officers who succeeded in enlisting a certain number of recruits, and sent out regiments of boys instead of men to tropical climates—which, in the case of most of them, meant certain death. In equipment, the Government was scandalously negligent. It failed to send out greatcoats to soldiers campaigning in the Netherlands during the winter, or boots for those fighting in tropical districts infested with dangerous insects. Troops were sometimes sent out who had never fired a shot, or with wholly insufficient supplies of ammunition; and the arrangements for transport and hospitals were inconceivably bad.

But chief among the causes of failure was the fact that our small army was frittered away on a variety of objects instead of being concentrated upon one. In the first year of the war (1793) there were three distinct centres of ^{British operations in Europe,} operations in Europe; and in all there was failure to ^{1793-5.} record. Hood landed a force to co-operate with the French Royalists at *Toulon*; but he had to withdraw after suffering considerable losses. Another force was sent to *Quiberon Bay*, to help the Royalists in Brittany, but arrived too late to be of any service.¹ A third force under the Duke of York was sent to assist the allies in *Belgium*. The duke besieged *Dunkirk* unsuccessfully, but fought in conjunction with the Austrians some engagements in which our men showed bravery. When, however, in the next year, the French advanced in overwhelming numbers, the duke was forced to retire from Belgium to Holland, and finally the remnant of his forces entered Hanover and returned, in 1795, back to England.

Meantime, outside Europe, the chief centre of military operations was in the *West Indies*. A promising start was made in

¹ Two years later, in 1795, an expedition was sent to Quiberon to aid a fresh rising. By order of the Government it occupied, as a base of operations, a barren rock in the Atlantic, with no safe landing-place, and eventually withdrew with great difficulty, having achieved nothing.

1793. But the French sent out reinforcements, and not only recaptured most of what they had lost but stirred up the negro slaves in our own islands. Our own forces, inadequately reinforced and inadequately equipped, were wasted by yellow fever and the hardships of the campaign.

In West
Indies,
1793-8.

An army, however, sent out in 1796 under Abercromby—the ablest general of the time—succeeded in restoring order in our own islands and in recapturing some of the French; and, finally, in 1798 the British made a treaty of peace with the famous negro, Toussaint l'Ouverture, who had made himself master of the greater part of San Domingo. The net result of our operations in the West Indies was the capture of Martinique and St. Lucia, and the treaty just alluded to which saved the harbours of San Domingo from being the haven for French privateers. But these gains had been accomplished at the expense, it has been estimated, of a hundred thousand men, of whom half had died during the campaigns and the other half were discharged as permanently disabled. In the East, however, we were more successful; we captured the French settlements in India (1793) and the settlements of Holland in the Far East (1795), besides the Cape of Good Hope.

Our maritime supremacy enabled us to destroy our enemies' commerce and to occupy some of their islands. But even on the sea during the opening years of the war our operations were somewhat disappointing. Lord Howe won a battle in the Atlantic, known as *the glorious First of June*, in 1794; but the great convoy of corn, which it was all-important for the French fleet to protect, got through to France unseen during the manœuvres before and after the battle. Moreover, the British did not at first efficiently undertake the blockade of the French ports, and more especially of Brest. Consequently in 1796 the French, taking the offensive, were able to dispatch a fleet from Brest to *Bantry Bay* in Ireland with fifteen thousand men on board. The ship, however, containing the French admiral and general lost touch with the fleet,¹ and the winds

British
operations
on the sea,
1793-6.

¹ The French fleet left Brest just as night was coming on, and Pellew, the commander of a British frigate which was watching the port, attached himself to the French fleet, just out of gunshot, and by making false signals, burning blue lights, and sending up rockets, played havoc with the commander-in-chief's orders, and got the fleet into hopeless confusion.

were persistently contrary for the remainder of the fleet when it tried to sail up the bay; so that the French had finally to retire without landing in Ireland at all. If they had landed, they might have roused that island to a successful rebellion. In another sphere of operations, in the Mediterranean, the British missed their opportunities. The fleet might have commanded the coast road to Genoa and increased the difficulties of the French campaigns in Italy; as it was, Napoleon's wonderful success in Italy in 1796 led us to evacuate that sea in the following year.

2. Isolation of Great Britain and her Victories on Sea, 1797-8

The chance of crushing France had been lost in 1793, and four years later—in 1797—Great Britain found herself in a desperate position. France held the whole of the Netherlands and controlled the Dutch fleet; by an alliance with Spain she practically controlled the Spanish fleet as well. Great Britain herself had no ally upon the Continent. Scotland was dissatisfied and Ireland on the verge of rebellion. Consols had sunk to 50, and there was a run on the Bank of England. Worst of all, the seamen mutinied. At Spithead they protested against many real grievances—the lowness of the pay, the embezzlement of part of it by the paymasters, the insufficiency of the food, the severity of the discipline, and the shortness of leave; and when they were promised redress by “Black Dick”, as the sailors lovingly called Lord Howe, the mutiny ended. At the Nore, Parker, the leader of the mutineers, was infected with revolutionary ideas. He wanted the seamen to elect their own officers, and hoisted the red flag of anarchy. But the Government showed energy, the mutiny was suppressed and its leader hanged.

Nevertheless it was the navy which in this, as in other critical years, was to save Great Britain. In February, before the mutinies, Jervis, afterwards created Lord St. Vincent, beat the Spanish fleet off *Cape St. Vincent*. In the battle Nelson distinguished himself. The Spanish fleet was sighted in two divisions, and Jervis was manœuvring to keep the sections apart. Nelson, divining his chief's

Critical position of Great Britain, 1797.

Battles of St. Vincent and Camperdown, 1797.

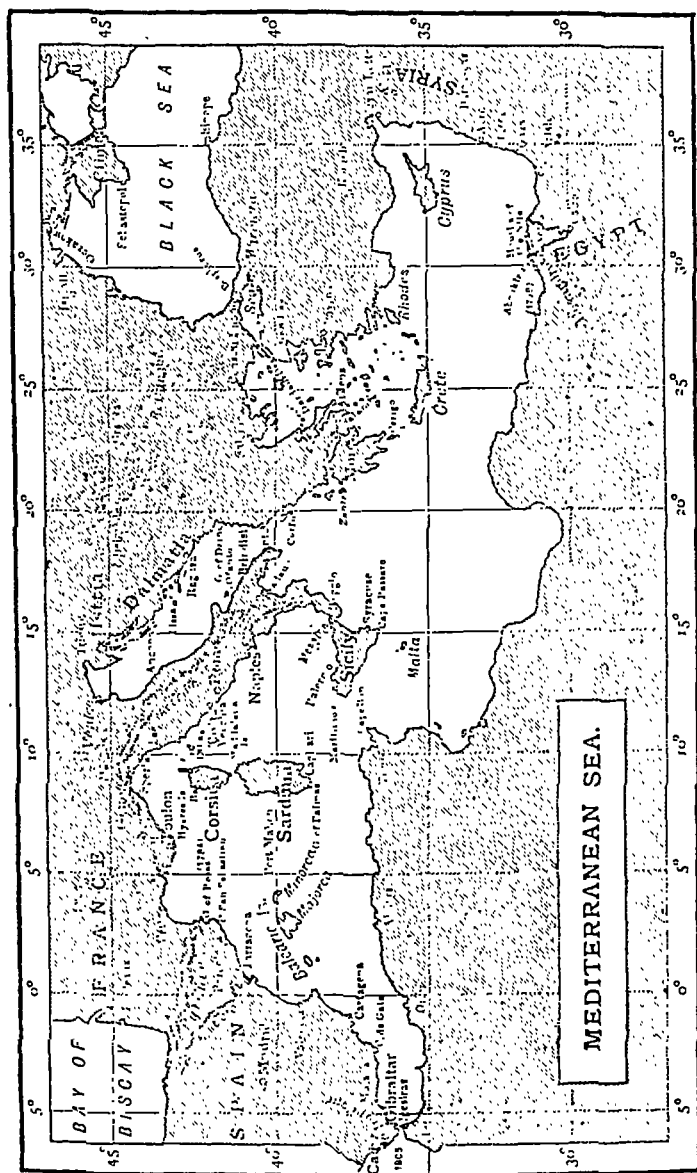
intentions, at the critical moment took the responsibility, without orders, of swinging his vessel out of the line, and was just in time to attack the leading Spanish ships of one division as they were on the point of getting into touch with the other. In October, after the mutinies were over, Duncan defeated the Dutch fleet off *Camperdown* in the Texel.¹ Getting in between the Dutch and the shore, he fought them pell-mell without any order or system, and won a notable victory.

Our dangers, however, were not yet over. At the beginning of 1798, Napoleon was sent to Brest to decide upon the feasibility

Napoleon's Egyptian campaign, 1798. of an invasion of Ireland. If his decision had been in its favour, and he had arrived in Ireland in the summer of 1798, just at the time that the rebellion

broke out, the result might have been disastrous. But fortunately Napoleon decided against an invasion. Indeed his mind was captivated by ideas of Eastern conquest, and he projected an invasion of Egypt, with the ultimate object perhaps of marching upon India. The French Government agreed, and preparations for the expedition were secretly made. Napoleon left Toulon in the spring of 1798 and took Malta. But he was extremely lucky even to arrive in Egypt. Nelson had just been sent to reoccupy the Mediterranean, and, but for the absence owing to a storm of his frigates—on which he relied for information—he must have caught Napoleon. He had to wait for reinforcements, and then guessing that Napoleon's objective was Egypt, he sailed from Sardinia for Alexandria. Shortly afterwards Napoleon left Malta for the same destination, though his fleet steered first for Crete. The tracks of the French and British fleets during one night must have crossed, and for three days the fleets were steering roughly parallel courses some sixty miles apart. Nelson sailed the faster and reached Alexandria first. Finding no signs of the French, he thought that he had guessed wrongly and doubled back to Sicily. Napoleon's fleet meantime, after coasting by Crete, sailed to Alexandria, and his troops landed, won the *battle of the Pyramids* against

¹ During the mutiny the British had kept up their blockade of the Dutch fleet with only two ships, as all the others mutinied. Duncan, the admiral, kept making signals to the mutinous ships as if they were still under his command, and the Dutch fleet consequently did not stir.



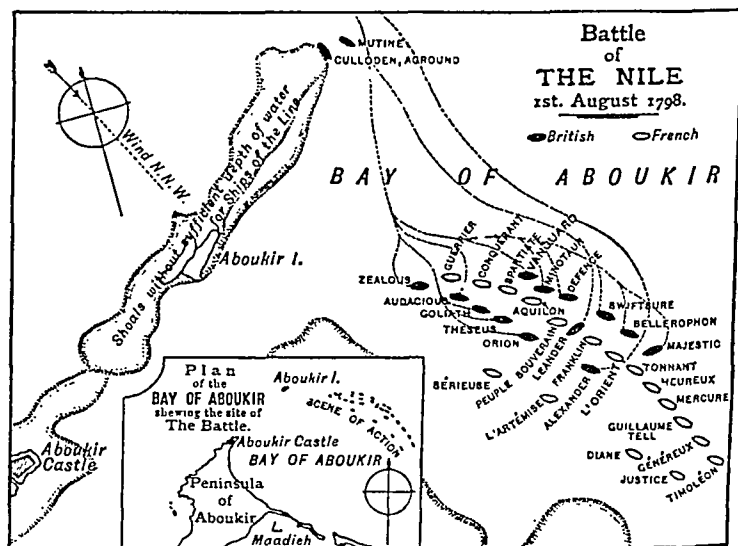
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From Mahan's *Influence of Sea Power upon the French Revolution and Empire*. (By permission.)

the Mamelukes, who then governed the country, and took Cairo.

Nelson heard of Napoleon's arrival in Egypt, sailed back to Alexandria, and upon August 1 sighted Napoleon's fleet at anchor in *Aboukir Bay* close to the mouths of the Nile. The French fleet had made the two great omissions of not anchoring their fleet as close to the shore as possible and of not joining their vessels by chains.

The battle
of the Nile,
Aug. 1, 1798.



Nelson could trust his captains, as he said, "to find a hole somewhere", and they quickly realized that they were able to pass on both sides of the French ships as well as between them, and to concentrate their forces first on the van and then on the centre and rear of the French fleet. Beginning at six o'clock in the evening, the battle lasted far into the night and was continued the next morning. The French flagship, *L'Orient*, blew up at 10 p.m., and before the battle was over eleven out of the thirteen French ships had been captured or sunk. It was a brilliant victory, in which all the captains, fighting, as Nelson said, "like a band of brothers", had distinguished themselves.

3. The Second Coalition and its Failure, 1799-1800

The battle of the Nile had great consequences. Not only did it prevent Tippoo Sahib in India from obtaining any further help from the French (p. 517), and give the British control of the Mediterranean, but it encouraged the formation of another coalition of European powers against France (1799). The Second Coalition against France in 1799, and its early successes.

The insolence and aggressiveness of the foreign policy pursued by the French Government had roused the Czar; and Austria and Turkey also joined in the coalition. Affairs at first looked very promising. The French were almost driven out of Italy, while the British had in 1798 taken Minorca and blockaded Malta. The British, freed from their entanglements in the West Indies by the treaty of 1798 with Toussaint l'Ouverture, again sent an army to Holland under the command of the Duke of York. Thanks to Lord St. Vincent an efficient system of blockading the great French port of Brest was adopted.¹ France herself, under an incapable and intolerant Government, was threatened with bankruptcy, anarchy, and civil war. Meanwhile Napoleon's own plans were thwarted by the maritime supremacy of the British. He invaded Syria, but British ships under Sydney Smith captured his siege train—it was going by sea—and the guns which Napoleon had intended for the attack upon *Acre* were therefore used in its defence. Aided by British seamen, *Acre* held out. With this town untaken, Napoleon was unable to advance, and had to retreat to Egypt with his great schemes of conquest unaccomplished.

But then the tide turned, and the year that opened so well for the allies was to end gloomily. The British troops had been sent to Holland in expectation of assistance from the Dutch and the Russians. The Russian contingent, however, proved inefficient and the Dutch soldiers never came at all. Its later failure.

¹ St. Vincent's maxim was to be "close in with Ushant (the island outside Brest) in an easterly wind", which was the favourable wind for the escape of the French fleet; and only once during St. Vincent's command (which lasted 121 days) did the main fleet off Unshant fail, owing to fog, to communicate with the in-shore squadron stationed between Brest and Ushant. St. Vincent made himself very unpopular by ordering that when vessels went home to refit or take in stores, their officers were not to sleep on shore or go farther inland than three miles.

Our own army, badly equipped and worse provisioned, fighting at one time in a district cut up by dykes and canals and at another in one of sand dunes, could do little; but it fought sufficiently well to be able to make a capitulation by which it was allowed to return to England. The French won a great victory in Switzerland over the Austro-Russian army, and then Austria and Russia quarrelled and the latter withdrew from the coalition. Above all, Napoleon came back to France. Sydney Smith caused English newspapers to be sent to Napoleon giving an account of affairs in Europe. Sent no doubt with the amiable design of making Napoleon thoroughly uncomfortable, they had the effect of making him decide upon an immediate return; and after an exciting voyage, in which he managed to elude all British ships, Napoleon landed safely in France in October. He was welcomed enthusiastically. The old Government was overthrown, and by Christmas Day, 1799, Napoleon, with the new title of First Consul, controlled the destinies of France.

Napoleon, after restoring some sort of order in France, turned his attention first to the Austrians, who were fighting in Italy.

He crossed the Alps, got in the rear of the Austrian army, beat it at the celebrated victory of *Marengo* in June, 1800, and won North Italy; another French

The battle of Marengo; the Armed Neutrality, 1800.

victory, secured at *Hohenlinden* in December by another general, forced the Austrians to make peace at the beginning of 1801. Against the British, Napoleon made use of the grievances of neutral powers. No country denied that a neutral ship carrying contraband of war or attempting to enter a blockaded port was liable to seizure. But the British, in the definition of what constituted contraband of war, included food-stuffs and naval stores, such as hemp, which was one of the chief exports of Russia; and they claimed the right to seize vessels bound for a port declared to be blockaded, though the blockade might be a "paper one" with no adequate force to support it. Moreover, they seized goods belonging to the enemy, even when carried on neutral ships under control of their own country's warships. Neutrals contested these claims, and at the end of 1800 the Armed Neutrality of Russia, Denmark, and Sweden was formed to support their views.

4. Renewed Isolation of Great Britain, 1801, and the Treaty of Amiens, 1802

The year 1801, like the year 1797, was therefore a critical year for Great Britain. She was again without an ally on the Continent. The Armed Neutrality threatened her with war. The prime minister, Pitt, retired in February, and was succeeded by an incompetent minister called Addington. But the events of a fortnight at the end of March and the beginning of April completely altered the situation. Abercromby, who had been sent to operate, with greatly inferior forces, against the French army still in Egypt, succeeded in effecting a landing and winning a brilliant victory at *Alexandria*, which led to the capitulation of the French forces five months later. Two days after this battle the Czar Paul was assassinated. With his death, the "trunk"—as Nelson called Russia—of the Armed Neutrality was broken, and the new czar, Alexander I, was favourable to the British and made a treaty with them. Meantime disasters had occurred to the "branches" of the Armed Neutrality. The British captured the Danish and Swedish islands in the West Indies. Above all, on the 1st of April, came the battle of *Copenhagen*. Nelson, with part of the British fleet, forced his way up the intricate straits in front of the capital, attacked and silenced the Danish batteries, took and sank the Danish fleet, and before he retired had forced the Danish Government to renounce the Armed Neutrality,¹ and so opened the Baltic to the British fleet.

Critical condition of Great Britain in 1801.

Great Britain, after this fortnight of success, was ready, burdened as she was by a gigantic debt and governed by a pacific minister, for peace; and so was Napoleon. Before the end of the year the preliminaries were signed, and developed into the Treaty of Amiens in 1802.

The Treaty of Amiens, 1802.

"It was a peace", said a contemporary, "of which everyone was

¹ Parker, the British commander-in-chief, allowed Nelson to make this attack with part of the fleet whilst he remained outside with the remainder of the ships. When, after three hours' fighting, the Danes seemed to be holding their own, Parker hoisted the signal to "discontinue the action". But Nelson exclaimed to an officer, "You know, I have only one eye—I have a right to be blind sometimes"; and then putting the telescope to his blind eye exclaimed, "I really do not see the signal!"

glad and nobody proud." Great Britain gave up all her conquests save Ceylon and Trinidad, whilst France retained the country which is now called Belgium, and the Rhine frontier.

For nearly the whole of its course, the war had been conducted by Pitt, and his lieutenant Dundas. In Macaulay's

Reflections on the conduct of the war. opinion, Pitt's war policy was that of a driveller; and it has been said of Dundas that he was so profoundly ignorant of war as to be unconscious even

of his ignorance. The judgments are somewhat harsh. But it is impossible to read the details of the war without realizing that our statesmen not infrequently failed to take sufficient advantage of the opportunities offered them, had no clear or consistent idea of their objectives, and made the task of the generals always difficult and sometimes impossible by providing them with inadequate or ill-equipped forces. Hence much of the war is disappointing; but in the West Indies, in the Netherlands, and above all in Egypt our soldiers fought bravely, and some of our generals—and more especially Abercromby—exhibited considerable capacity, whilst the navy won for itself immortal glory.

XL. The Napoleonic War, 1803-15

The Peace of Amiens was merely a truce, for the reorganization of France failed to satisfy Napoleon's ambitions, and his

Causes of the renewal of war in 1803. aggressive policy made the renewal of war inevitable. The First Consul annexed Piedmont and

Elba. As a mediator he intervened in Germany and reconstructed the boundaries of its states so as to suit French interests; he sent thirty thousand soldiers to Switzerland and gave that country a new constitution. Above all, he virtually annexed Holland, and thus once again British supremacy was threatened in the North Sea. But Napoleon's ambitions were not limited to Europe. The official report of a French colonel who had been sent to Egypt aroused great indignation in Great Britain; for the colonel expressed the opinion that six thousand French troops would be sufficient to recapture that country; and

the fact that this report was published in the official French newspaper showed that Napoleon had not renounced French ambitions in that quarter. We now know also—though Great Britain did not realize it at the time—that Napoleon had designs upon the Cape of Good Hope, upon India, and upon Australia. Napoleon on his side made bitter complaints because Great Britain, contrary to the terms of peace, still retained Malta in her hands, and because the British newspapers made attacks upon him. War eventually broke out in 1803. It was fortunate, perhaps, that it came as quickly as it did. Napoleon was building a very large fleet, which might have successfully challenged our maritime supremacy if time had been given for its completion.

1. Napoleon and the Invasion of England, 1803-5

The war which now ensued is generally called the *Napoleonic War*.¹ For the first seventeen months after it broke out, from

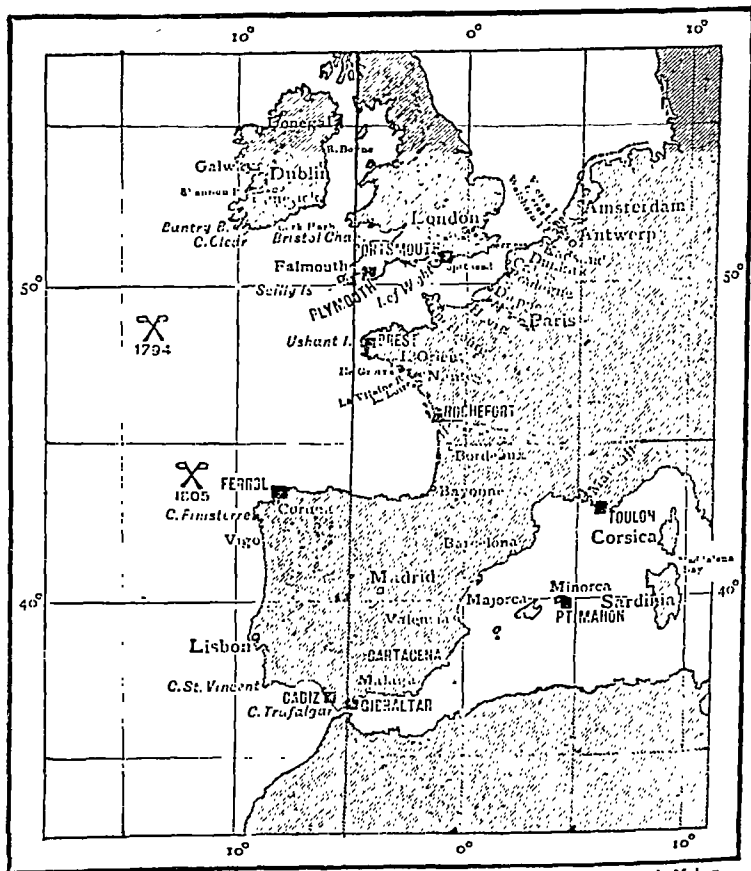
¹ The following summary of the war will be found useful:—

	Political History	Military Operations	
		(a) <i>Continental.</i>	(b) <i>Maritime and extra-European.</i>
1803.	England declares war on France.		Assaye (v).
1804.	Pitt becomes Prime Minister; Napoleon crowned Emperor; Spain declares war on England.		
1805.	Third Coalition.	Austerlitz (D); Austria defeated.	Trafalgar (v); Cape Colony captured (v).
1806.	Death of Pitt; end of Holy Roman Empire.	Jena (D); Prussia defeated.	Berlin decrees.
1807.	Treaty of Tilsit; Napoleon occupies Portugal.	Friedland (D); Russia defeated.	Orders in Council.
1808.	Joseph made King of Spain; beginning of Peninsular War.		(c) <i>Peninsular War.</i> Vimiero (v).
1809.	Austria declares war on Napoleon, and at end of year makes peace.	Wagram (D); Walcheren expedition (D).	Corunna (v); Talavera (v).
1810.			Busaco (v); lines of Torres Vedras.
1811.			Albuera (v); Fuentes d'Onoro (v).
1812.	Russia declares war on France, and United States on England.	Napoleon's invasion of Russia.	Badajoz (v); Salamanca (v).
1813.	Fourth Coalition. Prussia and Austria declare war on France.	Leipsic (v).	Vittoria (v).
1814.	Abdication of Napoleon; Congress of Vienna.		Orthez (v); Toulouse (v).
1815.	The Hundred Days. Peace of Paris.	Ligny (D); Quatre Bras; Waterloo (v).	

(v) denotes victory or success } of England or her allies.
(D) denotes defeat or failure }

May, 1803, until October, 1805, the main interest centres in Napoleon's plans for the invasion of England. To carry out his great scheme, Napoleon stationed at and near Boulogne nearly a hundred thousand

The attempted invasion of England, 1803-5.



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From Mahan's *Influence of Sea Power upon the French Revolution and Empire*.
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soldiers¹—the soldiers who were afterwards to win such a wonderful series of victories on the Continent; and for the transport of

¹ Napoleon hoped to have 150,000 men; as a matter of fact, during the critical months of 1805, he had only 93,000 men.

this army he built over two thousand flat-bottomed boats, propelled by oars and easily beached. But swarms of British frigates, sloops, and gun-vessels were patrolling the Channel, and Napoleon soon realized that a fleet was essential to convoy his flotilla of boats across the thirty miles of sea that separated France from England. The French ships-of-war, however, lay inside the great harbours of Brest and Toulon and the smaller ones of Rochefort and Ferrol¹; and outside those harbours, ceaselessly and untiringly watching the French vessels, were the British fleets. The blockade of Brest by Cornwallis—the brother of the soldier—excited the wonder of the world, whilst almost equal vigilance was shown by the British commanders off Ferrol and Rochefort. Nelson could not exercise over Toulon so rigid a blockade, but he had it carefully watched by his frigates, and his fleet during these critical months never went into port except to an open roadstead.² Napoleon's great army at Boulogne never saw those "far-distant, storm-beaten British ships" outside the French harbours, but nevertheless they "stood between it and the dominion of the world".

How were the French fleets to elude the blockading British ships and obtain command of the Channel for sufficient time to enable the flotilla to cross to England?³ Napoleon's Villeneuve brain spun plan after plan, but they were all foiled and Nelson. by the ability of Lord Barham, the first lord of the admiralty at Whitehall, and by the vigilant co-operation of the admirals afloat. Limits of space forbid reference except to the last plan of all, a plan devised early in 1805, when Spain had been drawn into an alliance with Napoleon and consequently when her fleet was available for offensive operations against Great Britain. Under this plan, there was to be a general rendezvous of all the French and Spanish fleets in the West Indies, and the combined armada was then to return to Europe and sweep aside all opposition. The

¹ Ferrol belonged to Spain, but it was virtually annexed at this time by Napoleon.

² Cornwallis blockaded Brest from May, 1803, until after the battle of Trafalgar, 1805—a blockade unequalled in length; and during the whole of that time no French fleet got out. Nelson for two whole years, wanting ten days, never left the *Victory*.

³ Napoleon at one time thought the command of the Channel for twelve hours would be sufficient, at another time three days. The French admiral at Brest thought "at least a fortnight was necessary", as the Channel was too stormy to be always practicable for the transport-boats.

Brest fleet, however, was unable to escape. But the Toulon fleet under Villeneuve got away in March, picked up the Spanish fleet at Cadiz, and reached Martinique (May 14). Nelson, who at first thought the Toulon fleet was destined for the East, and who was bound by his orders specially to guard against an attack on Egypt, Naples, or Sicily, watched the sea between Sardinia and the coast of Tunis; and then, hearing of Villeneuve's cruise westward, he went to Gibraltar, reaching it just eight days before Villeneuve reached the West Indies. Various pieces of information led him to conclude that Villeneuve's destination was the West Indies,¹ and he accordingly followed him there without delay.

But when Nelson had reached Barbados (June 4), and was within a hundred miles of his quarry, inaccurate information given him by a British general caused him to go south to Trinidad instead of North to Martinique where Villeneuve was.² The latter, when he heard of Nelson's arrival, wisely decided on an immediate return home. Nelson followed some days later, and sent forward a fast brig to announce the news. The brig passed Villeneuve's fleet on the way home, and brought intelligence to the admiralty in time for a fleet to be concentrated under Calder to meet Villeneuve on his return journey off *Cape Finisterre*.³ Calder, with an inferior force, fought an action in a fog, and captured two of Villeneuve's ships (July 22). The action, however, was not decisive, and Calder failed to renew it the next day; consequently Villeneuve was enabled to withdraw to Corunna, a port near Ferrol. Meantime Nelson had returned to the South of Spain, and, hearing nothing of Villeneuve, went to join Cornwallis off Brest.⁴

¹ This was not a brilliant guess on Nelson's part, but the intelligent use of what information he could gather from other ships.

² "But for wrong information," said Nelson, "I should have fought the battle on June 6th, where Rodney fought his."

³ The captain of the brig reached the admiralty one night at eleven o'clock. But Lord Barham, being an old man nearly eighty years of age, had gone to bed, and no one dared to arouse him. Lord Barham was furious next morning when he heard of the delay; but in half an hour he had made up his mind what to do, and without waiting to dress drafted the necessary orders. By nine o'clock in the morning the admiralty messenger was carrying these orders to Portsmouth.

⁴ Even if Villeneuve had not met Calder, it is unlikely that he would have eluded Cornwallis, who was guarding the approaches to the Channel as well as blockading Brest, or that he would have effected a junction with the Brest fleet. As has been pointed out, Napoleon in his schemes ignored two factors—first, that a wind favourable for the relieving force to

With Villeneuve at Corunna the danger to England was not yet over. In August, however, Villeneuve left that port, and, instead of going north to attempt co-operation with the Brest fleet, he went south and entered Cadiz. There he was shortly afterwards blockaded by the British fleet, and Napoleon had to give up all ideas of invasion. Moreover, Pitt, who had displaced Addington as prime minister, had succeeded in forming another coalition against France—the third that he formed—consisting of Russia, Austria, Great Britain, and Sweden. Accordingly Napoleon marched his army away from Boulogne to attack Austria. Meantime Villeneuve was watched by Nelson, who had, after a short rest in England, returned to his command. Villeneuve, however, could not lie idle while the British assumed the offensive, as they began to do, in the Mediterranean; urged on by Napoleon, and on the point of being superseded, he ventured to leave Cadiz, intending to check the British operations against Naples. But Nelson attacked him and the battle off *Cape Trafalgar* resulted (Oct. 21).

The allied fleet of thirty-three ships of the line, after it left Cadiz, was discovered by Nelson in a slightly curved line some five miles long. Nelson had previously determined to make an attack upon the centre and rear of the allied fleet, with his own twenty-seven ships arranged in two columns. Of one of these columns Collingwood was in command with orders to attack the rear ships, whilst Nelson himself led the other with the object of fighting the centre and keeping off the van ships of the enemy. The action began about noon. Collingwood in the *Royal Sovereign* outdistanced the ships in his own column,¹ and for a quarter of an hour fought the enemy single-handed. Somewhat later Nelson's column got into action. Nelson's ship, the *Victory*, led, and her first broadside dismounted twenty guns and killed or wounded some four hundred men of the enemy. The fighting was carried on

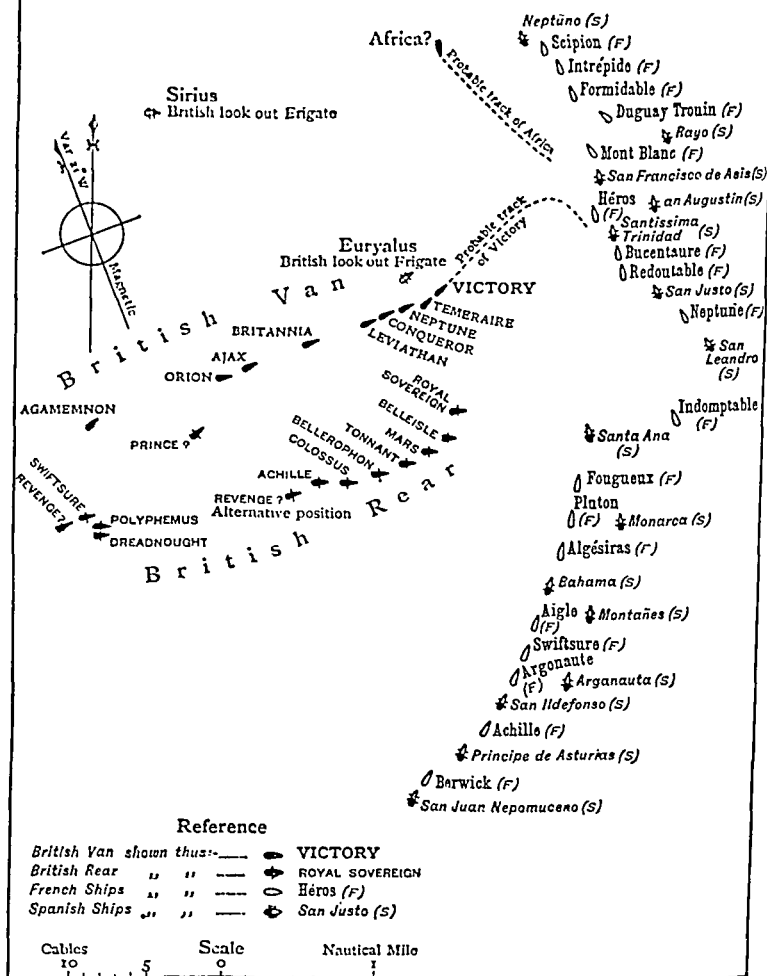
Battle of
Trafalgar,
Oct. 21, 1805.

attack was usually foul for the blockaded force to come out; secondly, that if the blockading force did go away to meet the attack, the blockaded force would not be able to tell under a day or two whether it had gone or not.

¹ "See how that noble fellow Collingwood carries his ship into action!" was Nelson's comment, and almost at the same time Collingwood exclaimed, "What would Nelson give to be here!" It was just before Collingwood began his attack that Nelson issued his famous signal, "England expects every man to do his duty".

Plan of BATTLE OF TRAFALGAR

showing the position of the ships at noon on October 21, 1805



For a long time it was a matter of controversy as to how the attack at Trafalgar was actually made. The investigations, however, of an Admiralty Committee have placed the matter beyond doubt, and the present plan is based upon that issued in their Report of 1913. Collingwood had been directed by Nelson—in a memorandum issued a few days before the battle—to attack the rear ships of the enemy simultaneously with all his ships disposed in a line parallel to that of the enemy; and he carried out this order as far as was possible—having regard to the wind and the condition of his ships.

with fierce determination by both sides; but the British gunnery proved its superiority, and eventually, out of thirty-three ships of the enemy, the British captured nineteen. In the course of the battle, however, Nelson was wounded in the spine with a musket ball and died in the hour of victory.¹ "It does not become me to make comparisons," Lord St. Vincent had written previously, "there is but one Nelson." And later generations have endorsed this verdict.

2. Growth of Napoleon's Power, 1805-9, and the Continental System

Great Britain had vanquished Napoleon on the sea, and for the remainder of the war her maritime supremacy was not seriously contested; but she seemed powerless to stop Napoleon's progress on land. On December 2, 1805 —six weeks after Trafalgar—Napoleon's campaign in Germany culminated in the defeat of the Austrians and Russians at *Austerlitz*, a defeat which broke up the Third Coalition and forced Austria to make peace.² The beginning of 1806 saw the death of Pitt, the brain of the Third Coalition, and the end of it the downfall of Prussia, which after a ten years' neutrality had at last been induced to take up arms against France, only to be overwhelmed at the battle of *Jena*. In the summer of 1807, as a result of Napoleon's victory at *Friedland* and of Russia's dissatisfaction owing to the tardiness of Great Britain—so the Russians alleged—in providing her with subsidies, the Czar made at *Tilsit* an alliance with Napoleon, and not only agreed to the dismemberment of Prussia and to the reorganization of Germany, but promised in secret articles to make common cause with Napoleon against Great Britain. In the autumn of 1807 Portugal, the old ally of Great Britain, was attacked; Lisbon was occupied by French troops, and the Portuguese royal family

Growth of
Napoleon's
power,
1805-8.

¹ Just before his death Nelson was told that fourteen or fifteen of the enemy's ships had surrendered. "That is well," he answered, "but I bargained for twenty."

² Pitt was at Bath when he heard the news of Austerlitz. Shortly afterwards he went to Putney, and seeing, on entering his house, a map of Europe, he exclaimed, "Roll up that map, it will not be wanted these ten years." The battle hastened Pitt's decline, and he died six weeks after receiving news of it.

fled to Brazil. Finally, in the spring of 1808, Napoleon, making unscrupulous use of the hostility between Charles, the king of Spain, who has been described as a good-natured imbecile, and his cowardly son Ferdinand, persuaded both father and son to go to Bayonne, and there—not without threats—got the one to resign the crown of Spain and the other to renounce his claim to it, and sent his own brother, Joseph, to Madrid to become king.

Napoleon then seemed supreme. The French empire included France, Belgium, the land up to the Rhine, and Piedmont and Tuscany. As King of Italy, Napoleon had

Napoleon's
position,
1808.

the direct rule, in addition, of Lombardy and Venetia.

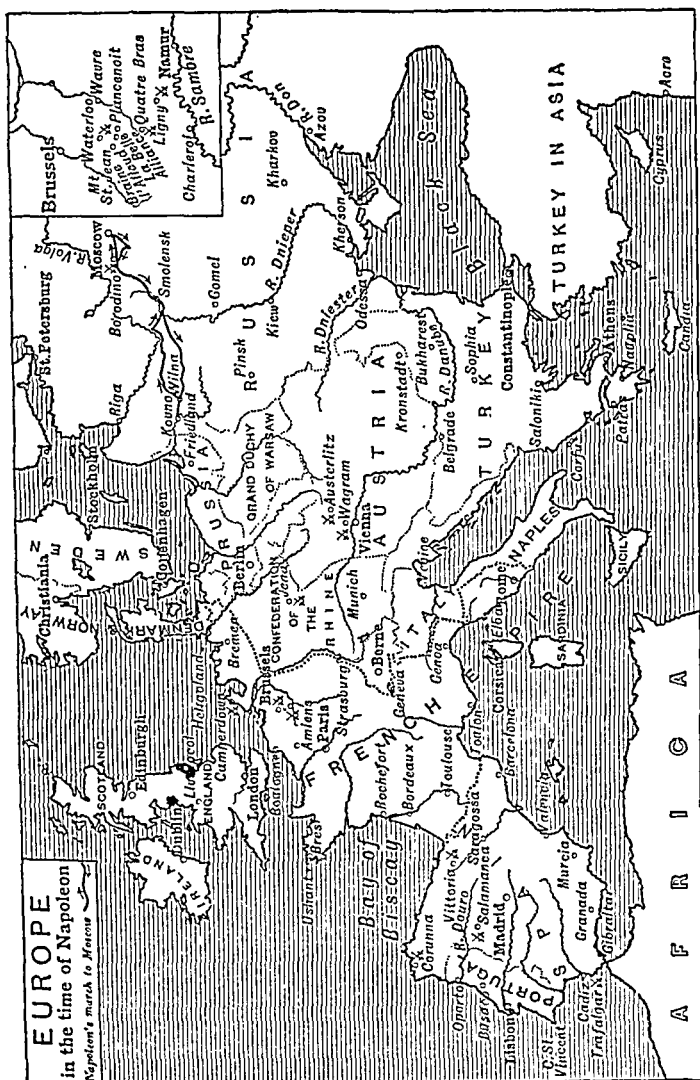
As Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine, he controlled the policies and the armies of nearly all the German powers except Austria and Prussia. Of his brothers, Louis was King of Holland, Jerome King of Westphalia, and Joseph King of Spain, whilst his brother-in-law, Murat, was King of Naples. Russia was his ally, whilst Prussia—reduced to half its former size—and Austria were quiescent.

Great Britain alone remained to withstand Napoleon's power. But, if she could not be defeated, she might be starved. Napoleon,

Napoleon and
Great Britain;
the "Continental
System".

"if he found it impossible to strike this enemy at the heart, could cut off the supplies to the stomach"; if he could not invade Great Britain,

he might ruin the trade on which her prosperity depended. If Great Britain's merchandise might be carried on the ocean, it might yet, in Napoleon's words, "be repelled by all Europe from the Sound to the Hellespont". Accordingly, at the end of 1806, he issued from *Berlin* his famous decrees declaring the British Isles to be in a state of blockade—though there was not one French ship-of-war within miles of any one of their ports. As a result of these decrees, no ship coming from Great Britain and Ireland or her colonies might be received in the ports of France or of allied powers, and any goods of British origin on land or sea might be seized. To the "Continental System", as the system under this decree was called, Austria and Prussia and Russia, and all the lands under Napoleon's influence, had to submit.



But to be successful, the Continental System must be complete; one leak would allow British goods to enter anywhere on the Continent. And it was this necessity that largely accounted for Napoleon's policy with regard to Portugal and Spain. There were, however, other places which were suitable for evading Napoleon's decrees with regard to British goods. Heligoland was annexed by Great Britain, and made a convenient base of operations for smuggling goods into Germany.¹ The Dutch Government, under Napoleon's brother Louis, showed little vigilance in carrying out the Continental System, and ignored an extensive trade clandestinely carried on at her ports till, finally, Napoleon in 1810 had to annex Holland. Nor did Great Britain fail to reply to Napoleon's decrees. Her Government retaliated with various "*Orders in Council*", declaring all the ports from which the British flag was excluded to be in a state of blockade, and forbidding ships to sail to them except under a licence granted by Great Britain or when coming from a British port. Yet Great Britain suffered greatly from Napoleon's measures, especially towards the close of the war.

Undeterred by Napoleon's brilliant successes, Great Britain undertook various military operations against Napoleon and his allies. At various times between 1803 and 1811 she captured from the French the Mauritius and their islands in the West Indies, and from the Dutch their possessions in the East Indies. She anticipated Napoleon's intended seizure of the Danish fleet by bombarding *Copenhagen* (1807) and forcing the Danes to give up their fleet—an act for which Great Britain was bitterly attacked at the time, but which is now generally admitted to have been justifiable. Elsewhere Great Britain was not so successful. Expeditions sent in 1807 to South America to capture Buenos Ayres and to Constantinople to coerce the sultan were failures, as was another dispatched in 1809 to *Walcheren* with the object of destroying the ships and dockyards at Antwerp.²

¹ During the winter 1806-7, the French army, in spite of the Berlin decrees, was clad and shod with British goods imported by the French consul at Hamburg.

² The commanders of the fleet and the army—Sir Richard Strachan and the Earl of

Above all, however, Napoleon's aggression in Portugal and Spain gave the British Government a worthy opportunity, in the summer of 1808, of championing those countries. To Spain, where all the provinces had risen against the king whom Napoleon had set over them, Great Britain sent money and arms; and the Spaniards achieved a great success by forcing eighteen thousand Frenchmen to surrender at *Baylen*. To Portugal Great Britain sent an army under Sir A. Wellesley, which defeated the French at *Vimiero*, and forced them, by the Convention of Cintra, to evacuate Portugal; though that convention aroused considerable indignation in Great Britain, because it allowed the French army to be conveyed back to their homes in France instead of to prisons in England.

Interference of
Great Britain
in Spain and
Portugal, 1808.

Napoleon himself then took up the task of subduing the Peninsula. With a huge army he invaded Spain and occupied Madrid. He was meditating an advance upon the south of Spain and upon Lisbon when Sir John Moore—the new British commander—threatened Napoleon's communications in the north, but “with bridle in hand”, as he said, and ready to retreat at a moment's notice, and “to make a run for it”. Napoleon decided to attack Moore. There followed, on both sides, the most wonderful marching across mountainous country covered with snow and divided by deep defiles, Moore for part of the time keeping an average of seventeen miles a day. Eventually Napoleon left the pursuit to Marshal Soult. Moore got to *Corunna*, and fought there a battle, as a result of which, though he himself was killed, his army was enabled to embark in safety (January, 1809). Moore's daring thrust had lost many a brave life, but nevertheless he had drawn the French away from the south and centre and had spoilt their plans.

Napoleon's
campaign in
Spain, and
Sir John Moore.

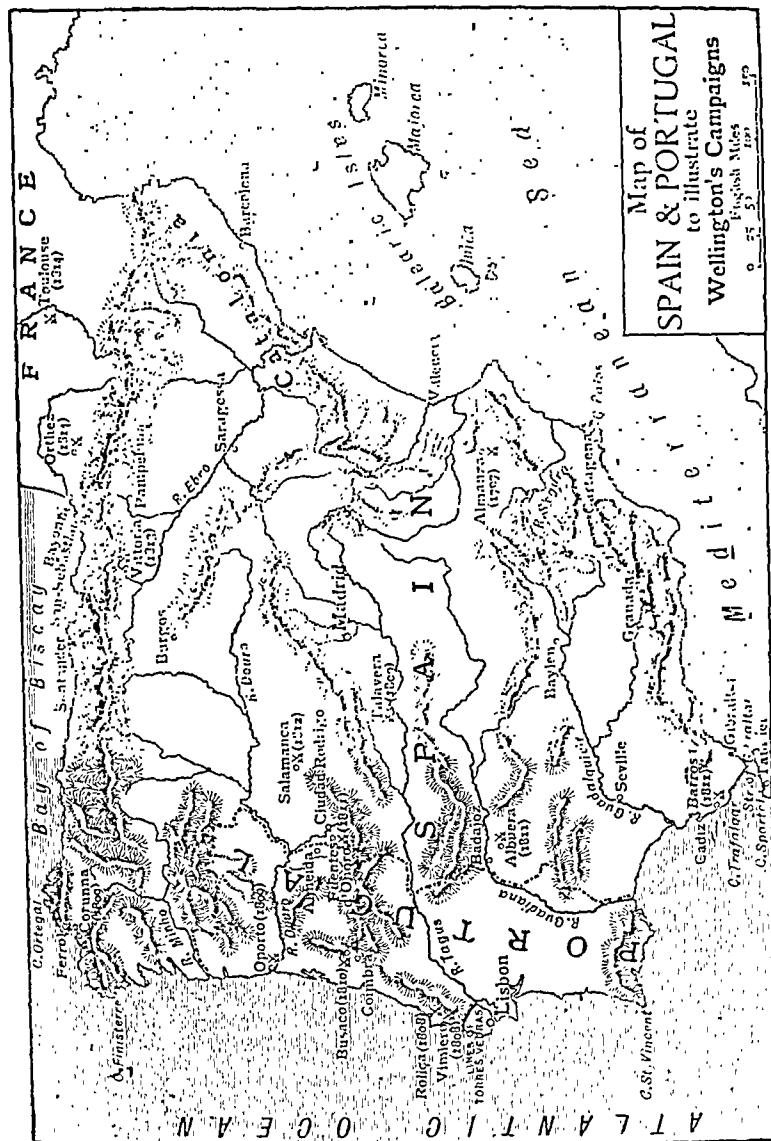
Chatham (Pitt's elder brother)—quarrelled, and, after the failure of the expedition, each accused the other of dilatoriness; hence the famous epigram—

“Great Chatham, with his sabre drawn,
Stood waiting for Sir Richard Strachan;
Sir Richard, longing to be at 'em,
Stood waiting for the Earl of Chatham!”

3. The Peninsular War and the Fall of Napoleon, 1809-14

After the embarkation of the British troops, Napoleon thought that the Spanish rising was "nearly at an end". But he was to be quickly undeceived, for in April, 1809, The Peninsular War, 1809-14. Wellesley arrived in the Peninsula for the second time. With Wellesley's operations the campaigns known in our history as the *Peninsular War* really begin. The difficulties which Wellesley had to overcome were very great. Opinion at home was much divided as to the expediency of the war and the abilities of Wellesley himself; consequently he had to be cautious—"if I lost five hundred men without the clearest necessity", he said, "I should be brought to my knees". The British officers with him were for the most part at first inexperienced; the men were sometimes six months in arrears of pay, and for four campaigns had to do without tents. Of the British allies, the Portuguese, till trained by the British, were untrustworthy. The Spaniards waged a guerrilla warfare, it is true, so successfully against the French that the latter, though they had as many as three hundred thousand men in the field, were never able to concentrate more than seventy thousand against Wellesley. But the Spaniards were useless in formal battles; even the best of them, in Wellesley's opinion, would only fire a volley whilst the enemy was out of reach and then run away.

It has been said of the Peninsula that it is a country where large armies starve and small armies get beaten". The country was mountainous, and the roads instead of following ran across the river valleys. Consequently it was difficult to get food or transport for a large army for any length of time; and the art of war consisted in the ability to concentrate rapidly a large army for a swift and decisive blow. The French generals, however, found greater difficulties from the nature of the country than did Wellington. They had to operate in the main down the ribs of a fan, down the river valleys, and they found it difficult to move from one valley to another. Their lines of communication, owing



to the hostile population, were always precarious, and the farther the French went, the more difficult it was to secure them. The English, on the other hand, had their communications by sea. They could thus avoid lengthening their lines, whilst when strong enough to take the offensive they could strike at the communications of the French and compel—as Moore in the Corunna campaign and Wellington in the Vittoria campaign—the French to retreat.

Wellesley had as his opponents in the Peninsular War generals trained by Napoleon, who pursued tactics that had been eminently successful when employed by that master of the art of war. Briefly, Napoleon's tactics at this time were to concentrate his artillery fire upon the point selected for attack; and then to throw at the weak spot either a great mass of cavalry or else a great mass of infantry in columns of nine, eighteen, or, as at Waterloo, twenty-four deep, the columns being preceded by a cloud of nimble skirmishers who occupied the enemy's attention. Wellesley's genius, however, was equal to these tactics. First, in order to preserve his troops from the enemy's fire, he kept his troops till the last possible moment out of sight—behind a wall, for instance, or the crest of a hill. Secondly, when the French cavalry charged, he relied on the solidity of a British square. But when he was fighting the French infantry column, he had his men in line, two deep. This formation, so long as it remained steady, had great advantages; through its length it could outflank the enemy, and it could pour at a closely massed column a deadly fire to which only the leading files of a column could reply.¹ The British line would fire one or two volleys at short range, so short that the soldiers often waited to see the white of their enemies' eyes before firing. They would follow up this attack with a bayonet charge before the enemy had time to recover, and then retire to await a fresh charge from the forces opposed to them.

Wellesley made his presence felt immediately after his arrival in Portugal in 1809. He found his enemies superior in numbers

¹ Wellesley took care to prevent his own line being outflanked, and protected it in front by a powerful line of skirmishers, so that the skirmishers of the enemy should not harass it.

but divided. Marching eighty miles in three and a half days, he crossed the Douro, drove Soult out of Oporto, and chased him into Spain. Then he passed over the Spanish frontier, and in combination with a Spanish army The Talavera campaign, 1809. turned upon another French general in the valley of the Tagus. But the slackness of the Spanish general and the arrival of French reinforcements forced him, after winning a two days' battle at *Talavera*, to retire into Portugal instead of advancing upon Madrid. In Portugal for a time Wellesley had to act on the defensive. Napoleon had poured huge reinforcements into Spain and the Spanish armies had suffered severe defeats. And then the French, under Masséna, invaded Portugal in 1810 to drive "the English leopard into the sea".

Masséna's invasion of Portugal was a critical moment in the history of Europe; for if Wellesley had been expelled from that country, it seems not improbable that Great Britain would have yielded to Napoleon. Our intervention in the Peninsula had been fiercely attacked by

The Lines of Torres Vedras, 1810-1.

many of the leading politicians of the day. The nation was tired of the continual failure of our continental expeditions, and regarded Napoleon as invincible. Moreover, owing to the increasing rigour of the Continental System, there was much distress in England, and the nation was greatly depressed. But Wellesley had devised a new and original plan against Masséna's forces. Lisbon—his base—stood upon a peninsula. For the last six months Wellesley's engineers, aided by the peasantry of the district, had been secretly protecting the neck of that peninsula with three lines of defence—the famous "*lines of Torres Vedras*". These lines—the first of which was twenty-nine miles long—had been made with great ingenuity: in one place a river had been dammed to make a great lake, elsewhere the hills had been scarpd so as to make them precipitous, the ravines filled with barricades of trees, and redoubts had been built at regular intervals for the guns. Meanwhile the inhabitants from the whole district in front of these lines had been ordered to destroy or carry away their foodstuffs and to retire either to Lisbon or to the mountains.

In 1810 Wellesley, after defeating Masséna at *Busaco*, retired behind these lines. Masséna, who only heard of the

existence of these defences five days before he arrived in front of them, found the first line impregnable, and the whole country round absolutely denuded of supplies. For a month he remained outside these lines; for nearly five more he stayed in Portugal, but his men suffered terribly from sickness and hunger, and he finally retired from the country back to Spain in the spring of 1811 with his object unattained and with twenty-five thousand less men than when he had entered it. Wellington was now able to advance. But he did nothing decisive in 1811, though two victories were secured, the one by Wellington at *Fuentes d'Onoro*, and the other by Beresford, through the magnificent charging of two Fusilier regiments, at *Albuera*.¹

With 1812 came the beginning of the end of Napoleon's omnipotence. Russia had been gradually drifting apart from

Napoleon's Russian campaign, 1812. Napoleon and had been so hard hit by the Continental System that she had practically abandoned it.

It was essential to Napoleon's policy that the system should be upheld, and he determined to invade Russia. History has few greater tragedies to record than the fate of Napoleon's expedition. Before he started, Napoleon received the homage of kings and princes at a brilliant gathering in Dresden. He then entered Russia with an army of over six hundred thousand men—a larger and more motley army than any seen since the time of Xerxes. After fighting a most murderous battle at *Borodino*, he entered the old capital of Russia, Moscow—but only to find it a deserted city, whilst on his arrival large parts of it were set on fire by incendiaries. After a brief stay he decided to retire, and on his return journey had to endure the awful rigours of a Russian winter and the pitiless and persistent attacks of the Russian cavalry.

Less than sixty thousand of his troops eventually recrossed the Russian frontier in fighting condition. Napoleon himself left his troops before the end and hurried home accompanied by only three companions, and finally returned to Paris in a hackney coach.

Meantime, Wellington was able to take the offensive and to

¹ "They were bad soldiers," was the French commander's comment upon the British at Albuera; "they were completely beaten, the day was mine, and yet they did not know it and would not run."

invade Spain, Napoleon having withdrawn many of the French troops for the campaign in Russia. The two main routes into Spain were guarded by the fortresses of *Ciudad Rodrigo* and *Badajoz*; Wellington captured the one in eleven and the other in sixteen days, before the French armies could be brought up for their relief. Then, at the battle of *Salamanca*, if he did not, as is usually said, "beat forty thousand Frenchmen in forty minutes", he fell with such vigour upon a force which the French had detached to cut off his line of retreat that he routed it in under that time, and followed up this blow by decisively defeating the main body. As a result of Salamanca Joseph fled from Madrid, and Soult retired from Andalusia. Wellington occupied Madrid, and went north and besieged *Burgos*; but with an insufficient siege train he was unable to take it, and the concentration of the French armies forced him into a retreat which cost thousands of lives. The result of the whole campaign of 1812 was, however, that Southern Spain was permanently freed from the French.

Wellington's
campaign
in 1812.

Towards the close of 1812 Castlereagh had become the British foreign secretary, and it was largely owing to his exertions that a *Fourth Coalition*, which included Russia, Prussia, Sweden, and a little later Austria, was formed against Napoleon. Consequently the French forces in the Peninsula were still further reduced, to provide Napoleon with an army to fight in Germany. Wellington therefore was able to develop a brilliantly offensive campaign in 1813. By keeping a large force under Graham threatening the French right and rear, he drove back the French army in six weeks from Salamanca to *Vittoria*, and at the latter place was able by his superiority in numbers—eighty thousand to sixty-five thousand—not only to defeat the French but to cut off their retreat by the main road. Wellington captured a hundred and forty-three guns besides one million pounds sterling, whilst Joseph and the remnants of his army had to escape as best they could by a rough mule track.¹ What is more im-

The campaign
of Vittoria and
the War of the
Pyrenees, 1813.

¹ Amongst other things Wellington captured some valuable Spanish pictures which Joseph was taking out of Spain. At the end of the war Wellington offered to return them to the King of Spain, but the king generously gave them to Wellington, and they are now at Apsley House.

portant, the victory was not without influence in inducing Austria to join Prussia and Russia in the campaign which ended in Napoleon's downfall at the great battle of *Leipzig*. After a short interval there followed, during the next four months, what is known as the *War of the Pyrenees*. Soult had been sent by Napoleon to reorganize the army against Wellington, but, though he fought skilfully, he failed to prevent either the storming of San Sebastian or the surrender of Pampeluna, and before the end of the year Wellington had crossed the French frontier and was threatening Bayonne.

With 1814 the end came. Soult with an army of fifty thousand—for Napoleon could spare him no more—retreated eastward so as to be able to threaten Wellington's flank if he went north, or to draw him away from his true base, the sea, if he followed. Wellington chose the latter course, and won the battles of *Orthez* and *Toulouse*. But before *Toulouse* was fought, the war was really over, as the allies, invading France in overwhelming numbers, had advanced upon Paris and had forced Napoleon to abdicate. The Peninsular War had been of inestimable importance. It cost Napoleon, according to Wellington's calculations, not far short of half a million men; Napoleon himself called it a "running sore"—a constant drain of money and men which proved fatal to his ambitions. It re-established the prestige of the British army, and it gave Spain the opportunity of showing that no despot, however powerful, can trample upon the independence of a proud nation.

So after close on twenty years of war France was beaten back to her own borders. The reasons of her success for the time and her eventual failure lie deeper than the genius of Napoleon and the counterbalancing dogged accuracy of Wellington—the compensation which Fate gave us¹—they lie in what is greater than great men, namely great ideas. At the beginning France stood as the champion of *Liberty*, and Europe generally was longing for more liberty. Hence, wherever the invading French went, they were more or less welcomed as liberators by

¹ Both generals were born in 1769. "Fate owed us that compensation" was the comment subsequently made: Wellington was, however, born first.

the people. This was so in Italy, and Holland, and Germany. Thus the resistance in these countries was often half-hearted. Briefly, it was the new ideas of the Revolution fighting against kings and princes, representatives of the old despotism—and the kings were beaten. As time went on, however, it was revealed that the French did not practise what they preached. They made “war support war”: they lived at free quarters in the countries they nominally came to set free, and a taste of this soon lost the favour they had at first won. Napoleon made the change plain. A despot himself, his armies rapidly became the oppressors of Europe instead of its liberators, and this soon bred a national hostility to him. It could not work at once, because his armies were so enormously superior. But this feeling of *Patriotism*, which he roused everywhere against him—indeed almost created in Germany—triumphed in the end. So in the contest of the peoples of Europe against one despot, Napoleon was bound to go down. Rightly is the fight of Leipzig (his first great defeat in a pitched battle) called the *Völkerschlacht*, “The Fight of the Nations”. It was national patriotism which crushed him.

The same fact is revealed in another way. At first all the wars which France had to wage in Europe were short. Austria was the only country which kept up a fairly continuous war, and even she had made peace four times before Leipzig. Shattering defeats at Rivoli, Marengo, and Hohenlinden, Austerlitz and Wagram brought her to the ground. Of the others, Prussia and Russia joined for brief periods; Spain and the German States wavered now to one side, now to the other. Great Britain alone was constant, but at first could find no decisive point of attack. Victories at sea and the capturing of colonies could not end the war. But when she found and fostered a national spirit of resistance in Portugal and Spain, Napoleon’s downfall began. The Peninsular War is the first *long* war with which he had to grapple, and he could not end it, partly because of the patriotic, though guerrilla, warfare which Spain fought, and partly because he could not strike at the heart of the sea-power which supported Spain. His troops entered every European capital;¹ but they could not

¹ Except Constantinople, Christiania and Stockholm, and St. Petersburg; but they reached Moscow.

reach London. And so the long struggle in Spain gave Europe time to rally.

Meantime, whilst Wellington was fighting in the Peninsula, Great Britain found herself involved in a new war. The

War between Great Britain and the United States, 1812-4. "Continental System" and the British retaliatory measures had placed the United States and other neutral countries in an almost intolerable position.

A neutral ship, if it was sailing to or from a British port, might be seized by the French; if it was not, it might be seized by the British. Moreover, the British had searched United States merchant vessels, and even on one occasion a United States war vessel, for British seamen who had joined American ships to avoid being impressed into British men-of-war. Disputes led to war being declared in 1812. In the earlier stages of the war, though Captain Broke in the *Shannon* upheld our prestige by causing the American frigate *Chesapeake* to surrender in fifteen minutes, the American frigates—so equipped as to be almost ships of the line—won many successes over the lighter-armed British frigates; and United States privateers took some five hundred British merchantmen in seven months. The land operations of the United States across the Canadian frontier were, however, a failure. The Canadians, whether of French or of British descent, combined with the British regulars to resist the invasion, and fought with great courage and persistency. Eventually Great Britain, in 1814, after Napoleon's abdication, was able to send a large fleet and her Peninsular veterans to America. Washington was taken, but an attack upon New Orleans failed, and peace was made at the end of the year.

4. The "Hundred Days", 1815

Napoleon, on his abdication, had been given Elba—a small island off Tuscany—to rule as an independent principality.

The Congress of Vienna, and Napoleon's return from Elba, 1815. Meanwhile the Bourbon line in the person of Louis XVIII—a brother of Louis XVI—had been restored in France, and a great Congress—in which Lord Castlereagh represented Great Britain—was held at Vienna to settle the affairs of Europe. The congress

had not completed its labours when suddenly it heard of Napoleon's return to France. The temporary absence of the British frigate which watched Elba had enabled Napoleon to escape and to land in France with eight hundred men. He was received in France by his old soldiers with enthusiasm, and reached Paris on March 20, 1815, without so much as firing a shot. Then begins the period known in history as that of "*the Hundred Days*". Louis XVIII had to fly. Napoleon reconstituted the Government, and announced that he was going to pursue a policy of peace toward other countries and to grant liberal institutions to France. But the allies put no trust in Napoleon's promises. The Congress of Vienna outlawed him, and declared him to be an enemy and disturber of the peace of the world. Each of the big powers—Great Britain, Austria, Russia, and Prussia—undertook to supply a hundred and fifty thousand soldiers, whilst Great Britain as usual was to provide subsidies.

The plan of the allies was to make a joint advance upon Paris. But in June only the British and Prussians were ready. In Belgium, Wellington had about eighty-five thousand men under his command; one-third were British (very few of whom had seen any service before), one-third Germans, and one-third Dutch Belgians. Blücher, the Prussian general, commanded some hundred and twenty-four thousand Germans. Wellington and Blücher were acting in concert, and their combined armies were spread over a very much-extended line, not far short of a hundred miles in length, and some miles away from the French frontier. Napoleon's idea was to make a sudden and unexpected attack on the centre of the allied line; this would enable him to push his own forces like a wedge between Wellington and Blücher, and, as their bases lay in opposite directions, the one to the west and the other to the east, to defeat them in detail. Leaving Paris on June 12, Napoleon marched to the frontier, passed through Charleroi, and by the evening of the 15th he himself was in front of part of the Prussian forces which lay at Ligny, whilst Ney, his chief commander, was some seven miles farther west at Quatre Bras, where some of Wellington's troops were posted.

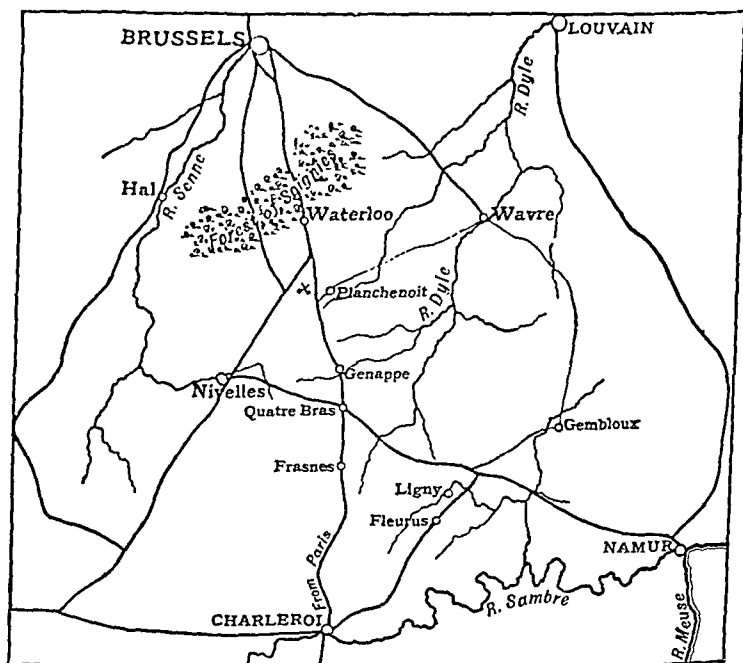
Napoleon's
plan of
campaign.

"It was the finest thing ever done," said Wellington of

Napoleon's performance, "so rapid was it and so well combined."

The allies were surprised and outmanœuvred; but, fortunately for them, both Napoleon and Ney wasted the morning of the 16th, and this delay enabled Blücher and Wellington—the latter of whom had attended the

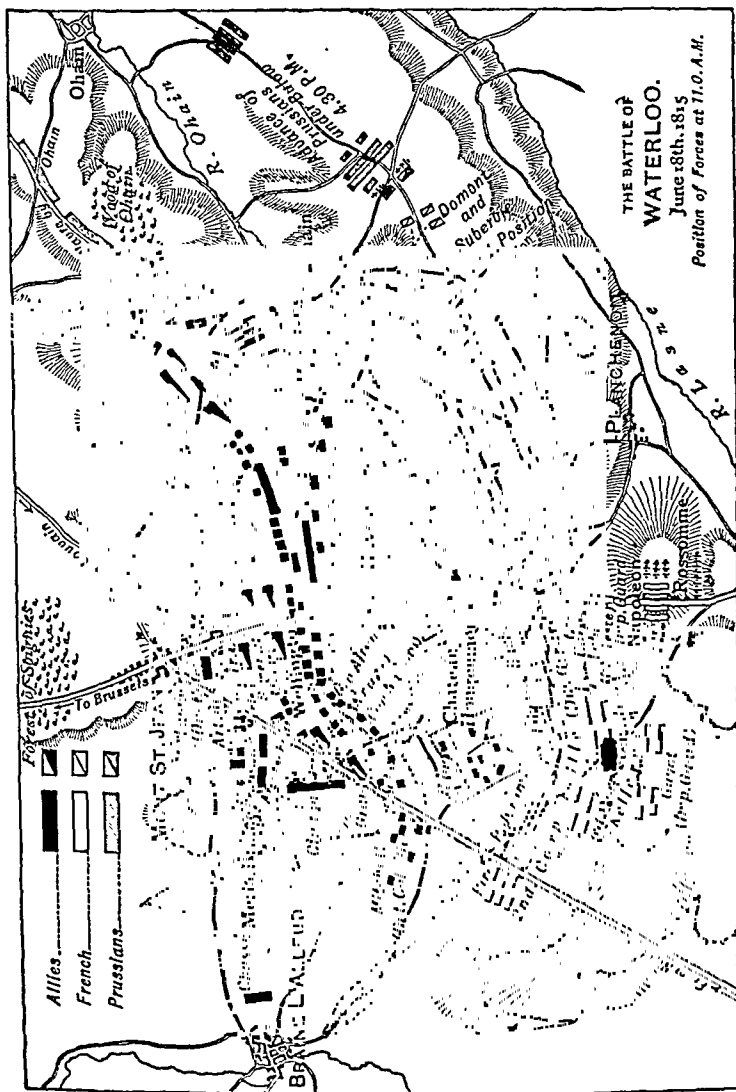
Ligny and Quatre Bras, June 16.



Main roads thus ——— Small roads & bridle paths thus - - -

Duchess of Richmond's famous ball at Brussels on the previous evening—to concentrate a large part of their forces. In the afternoon of the 16th came two battles. Napoleon beat the Prussians at Ligny. Ney at first crumpled up Wellington's lines at Quatre Bras, but the stubbornness of the British soldiers, and the fact that Napoleon had withdrawn, without Ney's knowledge, part of Ney's right wing to assist in Blücher's downfall, led to his final repulse.¹

¹ The Duke of Wellington had a very long day on the 16th. He left Brussels in the morning, and rode out beyond Quatre Bras; then he visited Blücher at Ligny, and warned him of



The day after these two battles—the 17th of June—was occupied with marches. At dawn the Prussians retreated, not east towards Namur, their base of operations, as Napoleon had expected, but north in order to keep in touch with Wellington. About ten o'clock Wellington began to retreat north. Napoleon himself, worn out with the exertions of the previous few days, again wasted the morning, and not till about 2 p.m. did Grouchy, one of Napoleon's generals, start in pursuit of the Prussians, and Napoleon himself in pursuit of Wellington. Nightfall found Wellington in position near Waterloo and Napoleon's troops beginning to arrive there, whilst the Prussian army was sixteen miles away at Wavre, and Grouchy, who had only just discovered the Prussian line of retreat, was some way to the south of it. During the night Wellington received promise of help from Blücher and determined to hold his ground.¹

Movements
of armies,
June 27.

On the 18th came the battle of Waterloo. It was fought in an undulating country green with growing corn and clover, and the ground was saturated with heavy rain. Wellington's forces lay on one slope, and Napoleon's on another, a shallow valley separating the positions of the two armies, which were about a mile apart. The distance from one flank to the other in each army was about three miles. Wellington placed his troops on the side of the slope away from the French, so as to be out of sight. To his front were two detached points. To his right front was the farm and orchard of Hougoumont, which were held by the Guards. In front of his centre, flanking the Charleroi-Brussels road, which ran like a spit through the centre of both armies, was the farm of La Haye Sainte, defended by German troops.

The battle of
Waterloo,
June 18.

The battle began soon after eleven o'clock with an attack on Hougoumont, but twelve hundred Guardsmen repulsed this and subsequent attacks made during the day by some the dangerous position he had taken up. He had therefore ridden over forty miles before the battle of Quatre Bras began, and he remained in the saddle till nightfall. A general officer found him late that night, when his troops were asleep, chuckling over some English newspapers which had just arrived!

¹ It is said that the Duke of Wellington himself rode over to Wavre during the night of the 17th, and got personal assurance of support from Blücher—but the story lacks confirmation. He received a message anyway before dawn on the 18th.

ten thousand French troops. There followed, about 1.30, an artillery attack, which was the prelude to a great infantry advance of D'Erlon's corps, twenty-four battalions in four columns, each twenty-four deep, against Wellington's left and left centre. But Wellington's infantry, and Picton's brigade in particular, shattered the heads of the columns with its volleys and charged. Then the British cavalry completed the rout of the French infantry—though they suffered severely by charging too far. About 4 p.m. came renewed attacks by the French, this time on Wellington's right centre. The British and Hanoverian regiments had to form square to resist a succession of magnificent charges, some fifteen or sixteen in number, made by the French cavalry, whilst in the intervals of these charges they came under the fire of the French skirmishers and artillery. La Haye Sainte was vigorously attacked, and lack of ammunition caused its defenders about 6.30 p.m. to surrender.

This was the crisis of the battle; if fresh reinforcements had been sent by Napoleon, Wellington's centre might have been pierced. But meanwhile the Prussians had kept their promise—though somewhat tardily, for they should have arrived at noon and did not arrive till 4.30—and, unmolested by Grouchy, who was still some miles away, captured *Plancenoit* on Napoleon's left. Not till it was recaptured did Napoleon give orders for the last great charge of the French—the charge of the Guard—against Wellington's right and centre. This was at 7.15 p.m., and by that time another column of the Prussians had attached itself to Wellington's left flank and allowed him to reinforce his centre and right. The charge of the French Guard was triumphantly repulsed, and the Prussians then undertook the pursuit of the defeated French army.¹ Napoleon's cause was now hopeless. On June 22 he abdicated, and subsequently surrendered

¹ The Duke described the battle in a letter: "Never did I see such a pounding match. Both were what the boxers call gluttons. Napoleon did not manœuvre at all; he just moved forward in the old style, in columns, and was driven off in the old style. . . . I never saw the British infantry behave so well." To someone else the Duke described the battle, the day after it was fought, "as the nearest run thing you ever saw in your life". It is said that a Guardsman confessed to having felt bored at the battle of Waterloo; but, on the other hand, a boy of fourteen, who had left Eton to take part in the campaign, wrote to his mother after the battle was over: "Dear Mamma, Cousin Tom and I are all right. I never saw anything like it in my life."

to the commander of a British man-of-war, and was sent by the British Government as a prisoner to St. Helena, where he died six years later (1821).

In conclusion we must glance at the territorial arrangements begun at the *Congress of Vienna*, before Napoleon's escape from

Elba, and completed after the battle of Waterloo by the *Treaty of Paris*. Of her conquests, Great Britain kept

Malta, the Mauritius, and the Cape of Good Hope—the potential value of which was not realized at that time. France kept, with small differences, the boundaries she possessed before the Revolution broke out. Belgium—or the Austrian Netherlands—was joined to Holland. The Czar was given a large part of Poland, Prussia obtained half of Saxony and large districts on the Rhine, and Austria got Lombardy and Venetia. The German States—now thirty-nine in number—were formed into a Confederacy under the presidency of Austria. To Spain and the Italian States their old rulers were returned.

XLI. Domestic Affairs, 1760-1815

We must now deal with the domestic history of Great Britain, from the accession of George III till the battle of Waterloo. The

1760-1815.
Character
of period. two most conspicuous features of that period are: first, the great development of trade and industry, the history of which is dealt with later; and, secondly, the series of great wars, the story of which we have already told. Great Britain during this period was almost continuously at war. She enjoyed a period of repose for twelve years between 1763 and 1775, and for ten years between 1783 and 1793; but public attention during a great part of the first of these intervals was occupied with the American controversy, and for the later years of the second with the French Revolution. Home politics, therefore, are somewhat unimportant, and the period is one, so far as legislation is concerned, of stagnation. The chief interest of the earlier part of George III's reign lies in the attempt of the king to free himself

from Whig control, and of the later part in the administration and personality of the younger Pitt.

George III, the grandson of George II, was throughout his reign a popular monarch. And in many ways he deserved his popularity. He was a thorough gentleman. Character of George III. He was a devoted husband, and except when his sons were at fault—and they often were—an affectionate father. He was simple in all his tastes, sincere in his religion, and imperturbably brave.¹ He was not without interests in art and literature; his library was a magnificent one, and most of the drawings at Windsor were purchased by him, whilst he had a fine collection of miniatures and gems. Moreover, having been born and educated in Great Britain, he could glory, as he said, in the name of "Briton", whilst his fondness for the public schools, his devotion to hunting,² and his keenness as a farmer showed that he shared the interests of the Englishmen of his day. But his education had been inadequate, and he could hardly be considered a learned monarch; his English was ungrammatical, his spelling inaccurate, and his stock of general knowledge somewhat slender, whilst he is said to have expressed an opinion that Shakespeare wrote "much sad stuff".³ Moreover, he had been brought up in great seclusion by his German mother, and suffered from an inability to see anybody's point of view but his own. Consequently he was ignorant and bigoted in his opinions, and self-confident and obstinate in upholding them; and it is melancholy to think that a monarch in many ways so estimable should have spent a long life, as has been said, in obstinately resisting measures which are now almost universally admitted to be good, and in supporting measures which are as universally admitted to be bad. To him, perhaps more than to anyone else, does Great Britain owe the loss of her American colonies, the failure to pacify Ireland, the delay o

¹ Not even a shot fired at him as he was entering his box at a theatre prevented him from enjoying his usual nap during the interval between the play and the afterpiece.

² He was so fond of riding that even when he was blind he used to take long rides in Windsor Park, accompanied by a groom with a leading-rein.

³ It is worth remembering, however, that George III, when recovering from his first attack of insanity, asked for *King Lear*. That same evening, on seeing his three eldest daughters he said of the play: "It is very beautiful, very affecting, very awful. I am like poor Lear but, thank God, I have no Regan, no Goneril, only three Cordelias."

parliamentary reform, and the long continuance of the slave trade. Yet it must be remembered in his defence that the views which he held were those of the average Englishman of that day, and the blame must be shared by the king and his subjects alike.

[George came to the throne determined to govern as well as to reign. "George, be a king",] were the words which his mother—accustomed to the despotism, benevolent or otherwise, of German princes—constantly repeated to him. And a real king George was determined to be. For such an attempt the time was opportune. Some distinguished men, such as Bolingbroke, had advocated during the reign of his predecessor that the monarchy should recover its lost power. [The king could rely on the devoted support of the Tories, who were by this time completely reconciled to the Hanoverian dynasty.] And through places and pensions and secret service money he could influence many votes, whilst a body of people known as the "king's friends" were prepared in the House of Lords to act according to his wishes.

The king, however, found it difficult to get rid of the Whig oligarchy with their family connections and their long experience of government, and he had to depend largely upon its members to fill his ministries during the first few years of his reign. But the Whigs were divided among themselves, fighting, as a contemporary said, like Highland clans, for places and power, and George could change one Whig ministry for another without difficulty if it conflicted with his views. Consequently the ministries are of short duration, and during the first ten years of George III's reign there are no less than seven. Within a year of the king's accession the ministry which had conducted the Seven Years' War with such glorious success came to an end. *Pitt* resigned, because his colleagues in the cabinet refused to go to war with Spain, and things were made so uncomfortable for *Newcastle* that he followed Pitt's example six months later.²

Pitt and Newcastle, 1757-61.

¹ Burke said of the Tories on George III's accession: "They had changed their idol but preserved their idolatry".

² Most of the bishops had received their sees from Newcastle, and had been regular and obsequious attendants at his levees, but on his fall they thought it prudent to abstain from attending in the future. "Even fathers in God", was Newcastle's comment, "sometimes forget their Maker."

Lord *Bute*, formerly the king's tutor, and therefore largely responsible for his views, then obtained the chief power; but he retired after effecting the Treaty of Paris, which ended the Seven Years' War, as he preferred to influence Bute, 1762-3. affairs from the background, and was by intellect and experience quite unfitted to govern the country. Moreover, he was extremely unpopular in England, partly because he was a Scot and partly because he was considered a favourite of the queen-mother, and he had actually been obliged to enrol a bodyguard composed of butchers and boxers for his personal protection in London.¹

George Grenville, a Whig lawyer, very hard-working but somewhat pedantic, succeeded as prime minister in 1763. With his ministry is connected the unfortunate Stamp Act (p. 501). This aroused, however, far less Grenville, 1763-5. attention at the time than the arrest by a "general warrant" (i.e. one in which no names are mentioned) of "the authors, printers, and publishers" of No. 45 of a certain paper called the *North Briton*. That paper had published criticism of a somewhat stringent character on the King's Speech at the opening of the session, a speech which as usual was only read and not composed by the king. The writer of the criticism happened to be a certain Wilkes, well known as a member of Parliament; public opinion was on his side and considered general warrants illegal, and the Government became unpopular. Grenville also, by his pertinacious and tiresome loquacity,² had made himself disliked by the king; and consequently he had to resign in 1765. "I would sooner meet Mr. Grenville", the king is reported to have said a little later, "at the point of my sword than let him into my cabinet." And Grenville was never to hold office again.

To Grenville succeeded another Whig in *Lord Rockingham*. He and his followers were high-principled politicians, and it was a great disaster to the nation that Rockingham, 1765-6.

¹ Bute's ministry was notorious for its bribery; on one morning, it is said, no less than £25,000 was expended in purchasing votes.

² "When he has wearied me for two hours," the king complained, "he looks at his watch to see if he may not tire me for one hour more."

Pitt, whose gout led him to take a less and less continuous part in public affairs, and made him more difficult to deal with, would not consent to serve under him. This ministry repealed the Stamp Act and declared "general warrants" illegal; but as a consequence it incurred the hostility of the king, and was dismissed after lasting just over a year (1766).

In Pitt (now created Earl of Chatham), the new prime minister, George III found a statesman more congenial to him, Chatham, for Pitt was hostile to all parties, and declared his intention of governing according to the king's wishes.

But illness soon incapacitated him, and it was then that Townshend, the chancellor of the exchequer, reopened the American question by his foolish duties (see p. 502). In composition Chatham's ministry was, as a contemporary described it, "a piece of mosaic", made up of politicians from different factions, and on Chatham's final retirement from office, in 1768, the ministry was left—if the change of metaphor may be allowed—like

Grafton, a ship without a rudder. The Duke of Grafton, a young

Grafton, 1768-70. man of thirty-two, who succeeded Chatham as the leader of the ministry, was a person of "lounging opinions", and more at home on a racecourse than at a cabinet meeting. During Grafton's tenure of power the House of Commons, under the leadership of his ministry, expelled Wilkes for having written to a newspaper a letter which both Houses declared to be libellous. The county of Middlesex, however, continued to elect him, and the House of Commons kept on expelling him. But at length, on the fourth occasion, the House of Commons declared his opponent to be elected,¹ a flagrantly unconstitutional action which produced a dangerous riot, Wilkes being a popular hero. For this and other actions Grafton and the ministry were unsparingly attacked in some letters—the *Letters of Junius*—the authorship of which is still disputed, and which had considerable influence at the time.² Finally, the

¹ Wilkes, on the fourth occasion, had received 1143 votes and his opponent only 296. But the House decided that his opponent "ought to have been elected", and therefore declared him the duly elected member.

² No writer, it has been said, ever surpassed "Junius" in condensed and virulent invective. Amongst others, Lord George Sackville, Grattan, Burke, Gibbon, Lord Chatham, Lord Temple, the brother of George Grenville, and Sir Philip Francis have been credited with the authorship of the letters; the two last-named seem to be the least unlikely.

ministry was criticized by Chatham, its former leader, for its foreign policy, and Grafton accordingly resigned in 1770.

At last George was supreme, and for the next twelve years, from 1770 to 1782, he was really his own prime minister. The nominal head of the Government was *Lord North*, The King and Lord North, 1770-82. a good-humoured, easygoing, tactful person, who was quite content to leave the initiative in policy and even the details of administration to the king.¹ The chief interest of this Government lies in its policy towards the American colonies, with which we have dealt elsewhere (p. 503). With large majorities in both Houses,² with its policy approved by the nation, with the enthusiastic support of the Tories, and only a divided Whig opposition to attack it, the position of the ministry was for long unassailable. The disasters and mismanagement of the American War, however, finally led to great dissatisfaction. The growing power of George III was regarded with alarm, and in 1780 a motion was carried in the House of Commons that the "influence of the Crown has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished". In the same year came a formidable ultra-Protestant riot, owing to an Act of Parliament repealing some of the laws against the Roman Catholics; its leader was Lord George Gordon, and all London east of Charing Cross was at the mercy of a mob, till George III himself ordered the troops to disperse the people without waiting to read the Riot Act.³ The proposal of a similar Bill for Scotland, granting concessions to the Roman Catholics, aroused such an uproar

¹ On two occasions the king actually summoned and presided over a cabinet meeting, delivering on the first occasion a "discourse" which "took up near an hour in delivering".

² The king always took a very active interest in elections, but especially at this period. Thus one of the members for the city of London died in 1779; at "forty-two minutes past 6 p.m." on the same day that the member died the king wrote to Lord North about the vacancy. In the election of 1774, Lord North, acting for the king, bought the six seats in Cornwall which Lord Falmouth controlled, for 2500 guineas each, Lord North complaining that Lord Falmouth was "rather shabby in desiring guineas rather than pounds"; whilst at Windsor—which at that time was hostile to the ministry—the king had six houses, which he rented in the town, entered in the names of six of his servants so as to create six votes in his favour.

³ For four days London was in the hands of the mob; Newgate prison was destroyed, and its 300 prisoners released; Roman Catholic chapels were burnt; and a distillery was attacked, with the result that immense casks of spirits were broken, and many of the mob were killed by drinking too much. The leader, Lord George Gordon, eventually became a Jew and died a madman.

in that country that it had to be abandoned. Finally, in 1782, after the capitulation of Yorktown and the loss of Minorca, Lord North insisted upon resigning—to the great disgust of the king, who never forgave him for this “desertion”, as he called it; “remember, my Lord,” said the king on parting from him, “that it is you who desert me, not I you”.✕

On Lord North's fall, in 1782, the Whigs again returned to power. By this time many of the older politicians, such as Newcastle, Grenville, and Chatham (d. 1778), had died. Lord Rockingham was, however, still alive, and the other most prominent Whigs were Shelburne, Fox, and Burke. *Shelburne* was a man of great ability and great foresight, but he was much distrusted, and known as “the Jesuit of Berkeley Square”. The truth seems to have been that though, as a distinguished writer has said, his conduct was always exemplary, it was always in need of explanation, and was consequently apt to be misunderstood, whilst his speeches were often ambiguous and liable to misinterpretation.

Charles James Fox was a strange mixture of virtues and vices. He has been described as the most genial of all associates and the most beloved of all friends. He was a great lover of literature, and read through his Homer, it was said, every year. He was energetic in all that he did, whether in taking writing lessons when secretary of state to improve his handwriting, or in swimming and cricket, and he became, through constant practice, an incomparable debater.¹ Yet he ran through a fortune by gambling before he was twenty-four, was the leader of every sort of extravagant fashion—including red-heeled shoes and blue hair-powder—and a man of no sort of moderation or of judgment in his opinions. His political life was varied. Beginning as a Tory and a member of Lord North's ministry, he became a violent Whig during the American War, and developed into a still more violent Radical as a supporter of the French Revolution. Towards the end of his life he was a believer in the good faith and good intentions of Napoleon towards Great

¹ In one session he spoke at every sitting except one, and he always regretted that he had abstained from speaking on that occasion.

Britain. Whatever views he held he supported passionately. As a statesman, however, he failed to gain the confidence of the king or of the nation, and from the time he left the Tory ministry, in 1774, till the time of his death, in 1806, he was only in office for twenty months.

Of *Edmund Burke* it has been said that, "Bacon alone excepted, he was the greatest political thinker that has ever devoted himself to the practice of English politics". Burke. An Irishman by birth, and educated at Dublin University, he became, when thirty-six years of age, secretary to Lord Rockingham, and a Whig member of Parliament (1765). He was a keen Whig and a great writer and talker. His speeches had enormous influence; for all politicians read them, though members of Parliament did not always listen to them, as they were long and awkwardly delivered.¹ Possessed of wonderful knowledge, he formed opinions which posterity has agreed were generally right. Thus he was in favour of a policy of conciliation with the American colonies; he supported the claims of the Roman Catholics for emancipation, and of the Dissenters for complete toleration; he wished to reform the penal code and the debtors laws; and he attacked the slave trade. But though he wished to diminish the corruption of Parliament, he was a great admirer of the British constitution as it then existed, and he was opposed to any extension of the franchise or redistribution of the constituencies. Moreover, he had a great horror of any violent reforms, and hence became an impassioned opponent of the French Revolution, as was shown in his "Reflections" upon it.

Samuel Johnson once said that Burke and Chatham were the only two men he knew who had risen considerably above the common standard, and it is an extraordinary thing that Burke should never have had a seat in any cabinet. He did not, however, belong to one of the governing families, and his Irish extraction made Englishmen inclined to distrust him. Moreover, his judgment was occasionally warped to such an

¹ Burke spoke with a strong Irish accent, his gestures were clumsy, and his delivery was described as execrable. Yet of one of his speeches in the Warren Hastings impeachment a contemporary wrote, "Burke did not, I believe, leave a dry eye in the whole assembly".

extent by his imagination, as in the charges which he brought against Warren Hastings, that it became entirely unreliable. But of his writings one of the greatest English historians has said, "The time may come when they may no longer be read; the time will never come in which men will not grow the wiser by reading them".

On the resignation of Lord North in 1782 the Whigs returned to power for a time, but their ministries were shortlived, and prime ministers followed one another in quick succession during the next two years. The first prime minister was *Lord Rockingham*. His ministry was able to accomplish two things before its leader died. It granted to Ireland an independent Parliament (p. 579). It also passed, through the influence of Burke, a bill to diminish political corruption and the influence of the Crown, by reducing the number of office-holders and the amount of pensions, and by excluding from the franchise revenue officers, who had hitherto formed one-sixth of the electorate and had voted as the Crown wished. *Lord Shelburne* was the next prime minister. He made the treaty which ended the American War. His fall was brought about by a coalition between Fox, the Whig, and Lord Shelburne. Lord North, the Tory, who both disliked Shelburne. The king was obliged to submit to a new Government in which Fox and North, under the nominal leadership of a "dull dumb duke" (the phrase is Lord Rosebery's), in the person of *Portland*, had the chief influence. That coalition was a discreditable affair. Fox had attacked Lord North when in office with a virulence which should have made any combination between the two impossible. And the only defence which can be made is that Lord North was placable and easygoing, and that Fox was—Fox.¹

The coalition was to have but a short life. Public opinion condemned it. The king was violently opposed to both Fox and North, and when the cabinet ministers kissed hands on appointment, a humorous contemporary noticed that George III

¹ There is a story that, during the American War, after Fox had denounced a member of Lord North's ministry in most scathing terms, Lord North came up to Fox and said laughingly, "I am glad you did not fall on me, Charles, for you were in high feather to-day".

put back his ears and eyes like a recalcitrant horse at Astley's. The ministry produced a bill for the reorganization of the Government of India. Under its terms the government and patronage of that vast dependency would be under the control, for the next four years, of commissioners, all of whom were Fox's supporters. "The bill", as was said at the time, "would take the diadem off the king's head and put it on that of Mr. Fox."¹ But the king saw his chance; a message was sent to the "king's friends" to vote against the bill, which was accordingly thrown out in the House of Lords.¹ The ministry, though it possessed a large majority in the House of Commons, was then dismissed, just before the Christmas of 1783, after an existence of only eight months.

George's new prime minister was a young man of twenty-four, *William Pitt the younger*, the son of the great Earl of Chatham. William Pitt, born in 1759—the great year of Pitt's ministry, 1783-1801. victories—had been brought up to statesmanship from his earliest infancy, and when, after an education at home and at Cambridge,² he entered Parliament in 1780, he at once made his mark. After refusing a subordinate place in Lord Rockingham's ministry, he had become chancellor of the exchequer under Lord Shelburne; and he was now made prime minister on December 19, 1783.

Pitt, however, on taking office, had great difficulty in forming a ministry, and being in a minority in the House of Commons his Government was at first looked upon almost as a joke, "as a mince-pie administration", sure to end after the Christmas festivities were over. But Fox and North and their followers who were now in opposition made a mistake. Pitt, despite

¹ The king gave Lord Temple a paper stating that "whoever voted for the bill was not only not his friend but would be considered his enemy; and if these words were not strong enough Earl Temple might use whatever words he might deem stronger and more to the purpose". Armed with this message, Temple had little difficulty in securing the rejection of the bill by a majority of nineteen. This Lord Temple was a son of George Grenville.

² William Pitt as a child was very precocious. At the age of seven, when told that his father had been raised to the peerage, he said "that he was glad he was not the eldest son, but that he could serve his country in the House of Commons like his papa". At the age of twelve he wrote his first poem, and when a year older his first play—with a political plot. At the age of fourteen and a half, when he did not weigh much more than six stone, he went to Cambridge—the story, however, that his nurse brought him there in a carriage and stayed to look after him lacks confirmation.

various defeats in the House, held on. His courage and resourcefulness, coupled with the extreme violence of the opposition, won him increased support; and when in April he dissolved Parliament he came back amidst great popular excitement with a decisive majority, no less than one hundred and sixty of Fox's supporters—Fox's martyrs they were called—losing their seats.¹ For the next seventeen years Pitt, trusted alike by the king and the nation, reigned supreme.

With the accession of Pitt, though the king was still able to exercise at times very great influence, his system of personal government came to an end. For one thing, the Pitt and the king. king had a minister whom he trusted; and for another, he could not afford to quarrel with Pitt, for if so he would have been thrown back on the Whig opposition. Moreover, the king's health began to decline. Brain troubles incapacitated him for a time in 1788. Increasing blindness, which became serious in 1805, made him retire more and more from public business. After 1811 the madness which had so long threatened led to his complete withdrawal, the Prince of Wales for the remainder of the reign acting as regent, under conditions, however, which left the chief power with the ministers.

Pitt, during the first ten years of his administration, till the outbreak of the war with France in 1793, was able to do much for his country. As a financier, his only equal was Pitt's policy, 1783-93. Walpole. Although, owing to the Industrial Revolution (Ch. XLIII), times were fairly prosperous, Pitt found our system of national finance very faulty. By simplifying the duties on certain articles, and abolishing and reducing those on others, he not only diminished the opportunities of smuggling, but did a good deal towards remedying the evils of over-protection, the disadvantages of which had been shown in a famous book, Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, published in 1776. Pitt also

¹ The most exciting election was at Westminster, where Fox was a successful candidate. The poll was open for forty days, and there were continual conflicts between a body of seamen whom Fox's naval opponent, Lord Hood, had brought up to London, and the hackney chairmen, who supported Fox. The king, of course, favoured Hood, whilst the Prince of Wales was an active ally of Fox. But Fox's most successful canvasser was the beautiful Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire, who really won the election.

made with France a commercial treaty to encourage exports and imports with that country. Moreover, he did something to reduce the National Debt, while his administration was economically conducted.

But for considerable opposition Pitt might have made greater reforms. He brought forward a bill for parliamentary reform, disfranchising some of the small boroughs; but he was defeated.¹ He proposed to establish complete commercial equality between Great Britain and Ireland; but Fox's tongue was too much for the bill. In one matter—in the impeachment of Warren Hastings (1788)—he has been accused of weakness and inconsistency, because he voted in favour of Hastings over the Rohilla charge, and against him on the other charges. But Pitt acted in good faith, and there is no reason to believe, as was often stated, that he was won over to vote against Warren Hastings by his colleague Dundas, who was jealous of Hastings' abilities. It must always be remembered that in the conduct of Indian affairs Pitt carried through an Act for the regulation of India which settled the basis of our government in that country till after the Mutiny of 1857; and that to him was due the appointment of Cornwallis and Wellesley as governors-general.

The second period of Pitt's administration—from 1793 to 1801—is a period of war, in consequence of the French Revolution. The earlier effects of that Revolution upon British politics have already been referred to. When the war broke out, in 1793, all attempts at reform ceased. Influence of French War upon Pitt, 1793-1801. "One cannot repair one's house in a hurricane," said a contemporary in Pitt's defence, and instead of reform came coercion. For eight years in succession the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended, so that a person could be kept in prison for an indefinite period without being brought up for trial.² Bills were passed by which political meetings might be stopped, political societies suppressed, and political refugees from other countries excluded. Yet the great majority of the nation, fearful of a

¹ It must be remembered that in those days members of Parliament were far more independent both of their constituents and of the party "whips" than they are now, and they had no hesitation in voting against any measure of which they disapproved, thus in the years 1785-6 Pitt failed to carry three important proposals, and he complained with regard to his supporters that "we are hardly sure from day to day what impressions they may receive".

² If they were imprisoned on the charge of treasonable practices.

revolution at home, demanded such measures. The bulk of the Whig opposition, including Burke, joined Pitt in 1793, and the opposition henceforward was confined to Fox and his supporters, who sank to such small numbers that a couple of hackney coaches, it was said, would comfortably contain them. Meantime Pitt was driven to desperate straits for money; enormous taxes were raised, and the National Debt went up by leaps and bounds.

The "gagging" Acts—as the coercive Acts were called—of Pitt can be defended, but other parts of his administration during this period are more difficult to excuse. In the first place, as we have seen, his administration of the war was, in some respects, open to grave censure. And, secondly, it cannot be considered that his policy in Ireland was successful. Of this something will be said later. All that need be mentioned here is that the Union of Great Britain with Ireland was finally achieved in 1800, and that when the king refused to sanction the emancipation of the Roman Catholics, which, it was understood, would be accomplished along with the Union, Pitt was by dictates of honour compelled in 1801 to resign.

To Pitt succeeded one of his followers, *Addington*. He it was who made the Treaty of Amiens in 1802, and conducted the early stages of the war when it was renewed in 1803. But he was quite unequal to the position.

"Pitt is to Addington

What London is to Paddington",

and Canning, rather unkindly. And as the administration grew more Paddingtonian, it was felt that the tried pilot must be recalled. Pitt returned to power in 1804, and lived long enough to see the crowning victory of Trafalgar in October, 1805. But six weeks later Austerlitz made Napoleon supreme in Europe, and this victory, and the impeachment of his closest ally, Dundas Lord Melville, for malversation of funds,¹ broke down his already enfeebled health, and in January, 1806, he died.

¹ A vote of censure on Melville preceded the impeachment. In the actual vote, the numbers were equal; but the speaker, after a silence of many minutes, gave his casting vote against Melville. There ensued a scene of wild exultation amongst Pitt's opponents. Pitt pushed his cocked hat over his brow to conceal the tears trickling down his cheeks; and his younger supporters, forming a screen round him, led him away from the House.

Pitt, in his relations with his colleagues and the members of his party, seems to have been cold and reserved; a good deal of marble, they complained, entered into his composition, and it required much effort on the part of an interviewer to produce even a momentary thaw. Yet few ministers have managed the House of Commons with greater skill than the younger Pitt, and his pre-eminence in that assembly was unquestioned. As an orator, though he lacked the inspiration of his father, he was extraordinarily facile; he had, a contemporary said, almost an unnatural dexterity in the combination of words, and his great rival, Fox, confessed that although he himself was never at a loss for words, Pitt had always at command the best words possible.

It has been urged against Pitt that he was jealous of able men, and preferred to be the one man of genius in a cabinet of commonplace men; indeed, his second ministry was composed of such feeble elements that the wits said it consisted merely of "William and Pitt". Nor had his administration been free from mistakes. He was not a perfect minister; but then, in Lord Rosebery's opinion, such monsters do not exist. Pitt, however, if not perfect, must be reckoned amongst the greatest of prime ministers. Honest and incorruptible himself, he, like his father, did much to raise the standard of morality in public life. Above all, it was his indomitable courage and self-confidence that enabled Great Britain to weather the storm that was caused by the French Revolution and by Napoleon. To the French Pitt was always the arch-enemy who had to be subdued, the real centre of opposition to their designs. That the French Assembly should in 1793 have solemnly declared Pitt to be "the enemy of the human race" is the greatest compliment they could have paid him. "England has saved herself", he said in his last speech, "by her exertions, and will, as I trust, save Europe by her example." That she had done the one and was to accomplish the other was perhaps as much due to William Pitt, with all his shortcomings in the conduct of the war, as it was to Nelson or to Wellington.¹

¹ Canning's comment on Pitt is worth quoting: "Whether Pitt *will* save us, I do not know, but surely he is the only man that *can*." A distinguished French historian has said that Pitt was the only great adversary encountered by the French Revolution and by Napoleon.

To the ministries that followed Pitt's second administration only brief allusion must be made. To Pitt's ministry succeeded,

Ministries of
Grenville,
1806-7. in 1806, a ministry of "all the talents" on the Whig side, including Fox and Sheridan, the orator and playwright; whilst some Tories, such as Addington, were

included in it; and Lord Grenville, George Grenville's youngest son, became prime minister.¹ Fox tried negotiations with Napoleon, and was soon obliged to confess that his belief in Napoleon's sincerity was not justified; shortly afterwards he died (1806). The ministers succeeded, to their everlasting credit, in passing an Act abolishing the slave trade, and then resigned in consequence of George III's opposition to Catholic emancipation. To this

Duke of
Portland,
1807-9. ministry followed two Tory ministries—the first under the *Duke of Portland*, in 1807; the second under *Spencer Perceval*, in 1809. Finally, in 1812, *Lord Liverpool*,

Perceval, 1809-12,
and Lord Liver-
pool, 1812-5. another Tory, became prime minister, and kept his position for the next fifteen years. But up till 1815 the real interest in our history lies in the struggle with

Napoleon, which has been narrated elsewhere, and which the ministers, despite great difficulties, carried on with dogged persistency. Whilst that war was going on, reforms at home were impossible.

Various other aspects of the period from 1714-1815 we have no space to survey. In art, Hogarth was the chief painter before

Art and
literature,
1714-1815. 1760, and the second half of the eighteenth century is famous for the names of Reynolds, Gainsborough, and

Romney. In literature, Pope was the conspicuous figure till his death in 1745. During the first half of George III's reign Samuel Johnson—made immortal by Boswell's *Life*—Gibbon, the author of the *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Goldsmith, Burke, and the poet Burns are perhaps the best known. The early poems of Wordsworth and Scott were written during the French Revolution, and those of Byron during the Napoleonic wars, whilst the first novels of Jane Austen and Scott appeared, the one in 1811, and the other in 1814.

¹ The Grenville family played a distinguished part during the reign of George III. George Grenville (d. 1770) was prime minister, 1763-5; his sister was the wife of the great Earl of Chatham (d. 1778) and the mother of the younger Pitt (d. 1806); and one of his sons was the Lord Grenville who now became prime minister.

XLII. History of Ireland, 1689-1815

Constitution of Ireland

We must now deal with the history of Ireland from the Revolution of 1688 until the battle of Waterloo. Its history during these one hundred and twenty-five years is in sad contrast to that of Scotland during the same period. How James landed in Ireland in 1689 and was finally beaten at the battle of the Boyne in 1690 and how after his departure his Roman Catholic supporters were gradually beaten back and capitulated at Limerick in 1691, has already been narrated (p. 434). But the Roman Catholics, under the terms of the *Capitulation of Limerick*, were promised two important concessions. First, those soldiers who chose were to be allowed to go to France, and a very large number left Ireland. Secondly, the Roman Catholics in Ireland were to have the same privileges as they possessed in the reign of Charles II. But this second condition was not observed. On the contrary, between 1697 and 1727, the Irish Parliament, in which by an English Act of Parliament only Protestants were allowed to sit, passed against the Roman Catholics, who composed four-fifths of the population, a series of laws, known as the *Penal Laws*, of the most vindictive character. A Roman Catholic was not allowed to have a vote, and was excluded from every imaginable office or profession from that of a lord chancellor to that of a gamekeeper. He could not be educated at a university, and he could not keep a school or be the guardian of a child; he could not marry a Protestant, was not allowed to buy land, and was even forbidden to possess a horse worth more than £5.¹ All Catholic bishops and deans were exiled, and subject to the penalties of high treason if they returned; all Catholic priests had to be registered, and to take an oath abjuring the son of James II. No Catholic chapel was allowed a bell or a steeple, and pilgrimages to holy wells were forbidden.

Quite apart from the exclusion of the Roman Catholics from any share in the government of their country, the political con-

¹ A Protestant was at liberty to offer £5 for any horse belonging to a Roman Catholic, who was bound to accept the offer.

dition of Ireland stood in great need of reform. All laws passed in the Irish Parliament had still, under Poyning's Act of 1495, to receive the assent of the privy council in England, whilst the Parliament in England, in the reign of George I, arrogated to itself the right of passing laws binding upon Ireland. It must be remembered also that the Irish Parliament had practically no control over the officials who governed Ireland, these being appointed and supervised by the Government in England, and it was an additional grievance that the highest of these officials were almost invariably Englishmen. The viceroys were Englishmen, often spending four-fifths of their time in England; the Protestant bishops were nearly all Englishmen, and some of them never came to Ireland at all;¹ and only one Irishman in the whole course of the eighteenth century was made lord chancellor.

The Irish Parliament itself needed drastic reformation; half the members of its House of Lords were Protestant bishops, whilst over two-thirds of the members of its House of Commons were nominated by individuals, no less than sixty seats belonging to three families; and, as has already been pointed out, no Roman Catholic could vote at an election or sit in either House of Parliament. Moreover, till past the middle of the eighteenth century, there was no fixed term for the duration of a parliament. Consequently a parliament lasted for an indefinite period, and one existed in the eighteenth century for over thirty years.

Even worse perhaps than the political was the economic condition of Ireland. That island is naturally a great pasturing country; its cattle and its wool were at one time the best in Europe. It might have become a great manufacturing country as well. But the selfishness of English farmers and manufacturers stifled its enterprise. The English Parliament had already, in Charles II's reign, forbidden the importation into England of cattle, sheep, and swine, alive or dead.

¹ One divine held the bishopric of Down for twenty years; he never went near it during the whole of that time, but lived at Hammersmith. Of two bishops appointed at the same time in the eighteenth century, it is said that one sent down to his diocese twenty-two cart-loads of books and one hogshead of wine; the other, however, was content with one load of books, but dispatched to his palace twenty-two hogsheads of wine.

CONDITION OF IRELAND

It proceeded, in William III's reign, to prohibit altogether the exportation of Irish woollen manufactures, and to confine the export of Irish unmanufactured wool to England alone, where the wool had to pay heavy import duties.¹ Irish industries were thus ruined. But this does not exhaust the evils from which Ireland suffered. As a consequence of the Irish support to James II, a great deal of land had been confiscated, and it is reckoned that, after the Revolution, three-fourths of it belonged to owners of British descent. A large number of these owners lived in England in the eighteenth century, and let their land to people called "middlemen", who often rackrented and exploited the smaller tenants to whom they sublet. The wretched Irish peasant, paying rent to a middleman, tithes to the Protestant clergyman, and dues to his Roman Catholic priest, had in some cases, it was said, "hardly the skin of a potato to subsist upon".

Such were the conditions of Ireland in the earlier part of the eighteenth century, and they all combined to degrade and to debase the great mass of the population and to Irish emigration. make the country a most unhappy one. The more energetic and ambitious Irishmen, indeed, left their own country to pursue their fortunes elsewhere. Spain, for instance, possessed five Irish regiments, and within a hundred years a quarter of a million Irishmen, it is said, joined the Irish Brigade in France. It was that brigade which took the chief share in defeating the British at Almanza and at Fontenoy, and which caused, so tradition says, George II to say at Dettingen, "Curse on the laws which deprive me of such men". To Austria Ireland supplied some of her best generals, and to Russia two field-marschals,² whilst Coote's opponent at the hard-fought battle of Wandewash was of Irish extraction.

We must now see how the conditions in Ireland were

¹ It is true that after 1743 the British Government encouraged the flax and linen industry at Belfast; but that was inadequate compensation.

² One of these was the famous Peter Lacy. He began his martial career at the age of thirteen, fighting in defence of Limerick. Subsequently he entered the Russian service, and fought against Danes, Swedes, and Turks, and he finally became Governor of Livonia. He is credited with having converted the Russian troops from the worst troops in Europe to some of the best, and a division of the Russian army is still called after him.

gradually improved during the later portion of the eighteenth century. In the first place, it was found impossible in practice to carry out the laws imposing restriction on the exercise of the Roman Catholic religion, and even before the middle of the century these laws were to all intents and purposes obsolete. The American War of Independence brought further relief to the Catholics; for the British Government, anxious to conciliate opinion in Ireland, encouraged the Irish Parliament to repeal the laws prohibiting Roman Catholics from buying land (1778), and before the war was over other concessions followed.

But the American War of Independence had more important effects even than this. It brought up the whole question of the relations of Great Britain to her dependencies—and Ireland might almost be called a dependency, and in some ways was much worse off than the American colonies. Above all, it gave Ireland an opportunity of pressing her claims in a way that could not be resisted. During the later stages of the war, Great Britain, hard pressed by her foes in every part of the world, had to withdraw the bulk of the troops from Ireland. The country was in imminent danger of an invasion from France; and was indeed, at one period, in “daily, almost hourly expectation of it”. Quite spontaneously, Irishmen, of all creeds and classes, organized themselves into ‘volunteers’ for the protection of their country from a French invasion. Nearly all the landed gentry became volunteers, the Duke of Leinster, for instance, commanding the Dublin contingent. Volunteer rank was given precedence in society, and great sacrifices were made to supply a sufficiency of funds. The movement was entirely independent of the Government, who indeed regarded it, and with reason, with considerable apprehension. For the volunteers, when they realized their power, began, like Cromwell’s Ironsides, to interfere in politics, and demanded an independent Parliament and the abolition of the restrictions upon Irish industries;¹ “England”, as an Irish orator said, “had sown her laws in dragons’

¹ The uniforms of the volunteers—scarlet, green, blue, and orange—were all manufactured in Ireland so as to encourage home industries.

teeth, and they had sprung up armed men". Moreover, in Henry Grattan Ireland had found a parliamentary leader of exceptional ability and force of character, who directed the movement in the Irish Parliament with great distinction. (The British Parliament was powerless to resist. In 1780 the restrictions on Irish trade and industries were abolished. Two years later, in 1782, Ireland obtained her legislative independence, Poyning's Act being repealed and the British Parliament giving up the right to pass laws binding upon Ireland.)

Between 1778 and 1782, therefore, some of the chief grievances of Ireland had been redressed. The officials in Dublin Castle now thought that reform had gone quite far enough, and were strongly hostile to any more concessions. Henry Grattan.

A body of moderate reformers, on the other hand, thought still further changes were necessary. Their leader was *Henry Grattan*, perhaps the greatest of Irish orators. Born in 1746, and educated at Trinity College, Dublin, he had been nominated a member of the Irish House of Commons in 1775.¹ He had quickly become its foremost member, and was the great champion of the independence of the Irish Parliament, that parliament showing its gratitude by voting him a grant of £50,000. Grattan's policy after 1782, may be briefly summarized. He was a strong supporter of complete Catholic emancipation: "the Irish Protestant", he said, "can never be free whilst the Catholic is a slave". He ardently supported the reform of the worst abuses in the Irish parliamentary system. But he was no believer in democratic government or in universal suffrage. "I want", he said, "to combat the wild spirit of democratic liberty by the regulated spirit of organized liberty." Above all, he saw the necessity of preserving the connection between Great Britain and Ireland, and was of opinion that Ireland should give Great Britain "decided and unequivocal support in time of war". To Grattan's powers of speech all bear witness; indeed, it has been said of Grattan that no British orator, except Chatham, had an equal

¹ When a young man Grattan was fond of going out late on moonlight nights and soliloquizing aloud. On one occasion at midnight he was apostrophizing a gibbet in Windsor forest, when suddenly he felt a tap on the shoulder, and a man, presumably of a somewhat unprepossessing appearance, said to him, "How the devil did you get down?" "Sir," replied Grattan quite unalarmed, "I suppose you have some interest in that question."

power of inspiring a nation, and that no British orator, except Burke, had an equal power of sowing his speeches with profound maxims of political wisdom.¹

The *French Revolution*, like the *American War of Independence*, had a profound influence upon Ireland. It had pro-
Effect of French Revolution. claimed the equality of men; it had abolished religious disqualifications; it had destroyed the old tithe system; and had organized government on a democratic basis. The Roman Catholic who wanted emancipation and the Presbyterian who wanted parliamentary reform alike applauded the Revolution as the dawn of a golden age for Ireland as well; and in 1791 the anniversary of the fall of the Bastille was celebrated with rapturous rejoicings. The *French Revolution* also led to the formation of an extreme party in Ireland with which Grattan found himself in little sympathy. Its leader was *Wolfe Tone*. He succeeded in persuading the Presbyterians in Ulster and the Roman Catholics elsewhere to support each other's demands and to combine in an organization called the "*United Irishmen*"² (1792). The organization became very popular and had an enormous membership. Pitt felt that some concession must be made, and overruled the objections of the officials in Ireland; and, owing to his influence, a bill was passed through the Irish Parliament in 1793 which, among other things, allowed the Roman Catholics to have votes, though they were still excluded from sitting in Parliament. This was one of those half-measures which was bound to lead to further agitation and difficulty.

In 1795 there occurred an incident which was destined to have great effect upon Irish history. A section of the Whigs in Great Britain had, in consequence of the war
The Fitzwilliam episode, 1795. with France, joined Pitt's party (p. 572). In the distribution of offices a Whig called *Lord Fitzwilliam* was made Viceroy of Ireland. He himself was in agreement with

¹ He had a bad delivery, however. It was said that he nearly swept the ground with his gestures, and Lord Byron, the poet, spoke of his "harlequin manner".

² "To subvert the tyranny of our execrable government," wrote Wolfe Tone, "to break the connection with England, the never-failing source of all our political evils, and to assert the independence of my country—these were my objects. To unite the whole people of Ireland, to abolish the memory of its past dissensions, and to substitute the common name of Irishmen in place of the denominations of protestants, catholics, and dissenters—these were my means."

Grattan, and was in favour of granting the Roman Catholics full emancipation and of allowing them to sit in Parliament. Very soon after his arrival he announced his intention of bringing this proposal before the Irish Parliament. The instructions that he received from Pitt before he left England were certainly not intended to allow him to do this. They may, however, have been open to misinterpretation, and there is no doubt that Pitt's Government was extremely dilatory in answering Fitzwilliam's dispatches from Ireland, dispatches which advocated the policy of immediate emancipation as the only possible solution of Irish difficulties. Fitzwilliam's policy aroused intense opposition from some of the ultra-Protestants and the officials in Ireland; finally it was disavowed by Pitt's ministry and its author recalled.

Fitzwilliam's proposal and consequent recall mark, it has been said, a fatal turning-point in Irish history. The "United Irishmen" developed into a secret and treasonable society, composed almost entirely of Roman Catholics, and working for the total separation of Great Britain and Ireland. Their intrigues with the French resulted in Hoche's expedition to Bantry Bay in 1796, which—fortunately for Great Britain—failed (p. 526). Moreover, the atrocities of the United Irishmen on those who opposed them embittered the feeling of the more extreme Protestants, and led to the formation of the "*Orangemen*", who retaliated by showing great cruelty to the Roman Catholics. Finally, the condition of Ireland became so alarming that in 1797 orders were given for the disarmament of Ulster; and soldiers, of whom the Welsh and Germans acquired the worst reputation for their inhuman brutality, marched over the country, breaking into houses, and intimidating and sometimes torturing persons to make them give up their hidden arms.¹

¹ It was not only in Ulster that the search for arms took place. The High Sheriff of Tipperary, Thomas FitzGerald, achieved an unenviable notoriety through the brutality of his methods, especially in the case of a harmless teacher of French called Wright. FitzGerald suspected him of being secretary to the United Irishmen in Tipperary, and ordered him to be flogged and then shot. When fifty lashes had been administered, an officer present asked the reason for the flogging. The High Sheriff, in reply, handed him a note written in French which had been found in Wright's possession, and said that though he could not understand the language, the officer would find in it "what will justify him in flogging the scoundrel to death". The officer, who could read French, found the note perfectly innocuous, and told FitzGerald—nevertheless FitzGerald did not stop the flogging, but ordered Wright to have one hundred more lashes, and then threw him into prison.

In 1798 came the *Irish Rebellion*. The leaders of the Rebellion had as their ostensible objects Catholic emancipation and parliamentary reform. But the peasants ^{The Irish Rebellion, 1798.} who joined in the Rebellion did so, for the most part, for other reasons. They felt the grievance of the payment of tithe very acutely. They had been led to believe, partly through old prophecies, that the time had come for Ireland to retrieve her nationality and to separate from Great Britain. And, above all, they thought, as in 1641, that the Protestants were trying to exterminate them and their religion, and they rose to protect their own lives.¹ The Rebellion, however, did not prove a formidable affair. Ulster had been effectually disarmed, and was still subject to the severe exercise of martial law. The leaders of the Irish Catholics, including a heroic figure in Lord Edward FitzGerald, had been seized shortly before the Rebellion broke out.² Moreover, though some French soldiers landed, they arrived too late to be of any service and had to retire. Consequently the Rebellion only affected two counties, Wicklow and Wexford, and it lasted little more than a month, the rebels being defeated at *New Ross* and *Vinegar Hill*.

After the Rebellion was over, Pitt felt that the only way to preserve the connection of Ireland with Great Britain, and to ^{The Union, 1800.} secure any harmony between Roman Catholics and Protestants in Ireland itself, was by means of a Union between Great Britain and Ireland, similar to that between England and Scotland. Irish opinion was, however, against such a union. But lavish promises of peerages and honours—forty-one persons were either created peers or raised a step in the peerage—and very generous money compensation to those in-

¹ It was popularly believed that the secret oath taken by an Orangeman was: "I will be true to the king and government, and I will exterminate, as far as I am able, the Catholics of Ireland".

² Lord Edward FitzGerald was one of the seventeen children of the first Duke of Leinster. He served in the American War of Independence and was severely wounded, his life only being saved by a negro, who afterwards became his devoted servant. Subsequently FitzGerald was in Paris during part of the Revolution, attended the debates of the Convention Assembly, and was imbued with revolutionary ideas. He joined the United Irishmen on his return, and was one of the organizers of the Rebellion. A price was put on his head by the Government, and through treachery he was seized in a feather-dealer's house in Dublin. He killed one of his captors, but was himself severely wounded, and died shortly afterwards in prison.

dividuals who held "pocket boroughs",¹ won over part of the opposition. Moreover, though no explicit promise was made, the Roman Catholics were given to understand by the Government that Catholic emancipation would form a sequel to the passing of the Union. With the opposition thus, to some extent, conciliated, the *Act of Union*, despite Grattan's speeches against it, was finally passed through the Irish Parliament in 1800. By its terms four Irish bishops and twenty-eight peers, who were to be elected for life by the whole body of Irish peers, were to sit in the House of Lords, whilst Ireland was to contribute a hundred members to the House of Commons. Ireland was to keep her separate judicial system and her separate executive—dependent, of course, upon the British ministry. There was to be absolute free trade between Ireland and Great Britain, and Ireland was to contribute two-seventeenths to the revenue of the United Kingdom.

Thus ended the Irish Independent Parliament after an existence of eighteen years. It had possessed some able speakers and statesmen; it had passed some useful laws; and, on the whole, considering the difficulties which it had to meet, it was not unsuccessful. The understanding about Catholic emancipation came, unfortunately, to nothing. George III became firmly convinced that the grant of such emancipation would be contrary to his coronation oath, and would not agree to it, and Pitt consequently resigned office in 1801.² Our period consequently ends with Catholic emancipation still unsecured, with the Irish land question still unsolved, and the Irish consequently remaining a dissatisfied nation.

¹ Over £1,250,000 was expended in this fashion, and two peers received £52,000 and £45,000 respectively for their boroughs.

² It is reported that the king read the Coronation Oath to his family and said, "If I violate it I am no longer legal sovereign of this country, but it falls to the House of Savoy".

XLIII. The Industrial Revolution and Social Progress, 1750-1909

If the seventeenth century is chiefly important in English history for the struggle of King and Parliament, and if the eighteenth century derives its chief interest from the great wars between Great Britain and France, the last hundred years of our history are remarkable, above all else, for the development of science. What has been called the modern alliance between pure science and industry has wrought a revolution in our methods of life. "If in the last hundred years", says a distinguished statesman, "the whole material setting of civilized life has altered, we owe it neither to politicians nor to political institutions. We owe it to the combined efforts of those who have advanced science and those who have applied it." The beginning of these great scientific changes came, however, in the second half of the eighteenth century, and, in order to preserve the same divisions as in political history, we may make 1815 the dividing line between two periods.

I. The Industrial Revolution (before 1815)

The first of our industries perhaps to be affected by the scientific spirit was our oldest—that of agriculture. Up till the eighteenth century arable land had, in most districts, been treated as in the Middle Ages; it was sown with corn for two years and then left fallow for a year in order to recuperate its fertility. The discovery was, however, made that by the cultivation of roots, the recuperative advantages of a bare fallow might be secured without the loss of a year's crop. Moreover, the roots both gave the opportunity for clearing the soil and provided food for the cattle and sheep during the winter.¹ Consequently there was more manure, and the fertility of the land

¹ Formerly the bulk of the stock, except that required for breeding purposes, was killed about Martinmas.

Chronological Summary of History After 1815

The century after 1815 may be divided into four periods; first, from 1815-32 to the first Reform Bill; second, from 1832-54; third, from 1854-78, a period of important wars; fourth, from 1878 till the present day.

During the *First* period, 1815-32, the chief features in Foreign affairs were the anti-Liberal policy of Metternich, the Greek War of Independence, and the Revolutions of 1830, which led to the creation of the kingdom of Belgium (pp. 651-6). In Home affairs, great distress in the years after 1815 led to many riots. Then followed a period of Reforms; and finally, in 1829, owing to the agitation in Ireland (pp. 643-4), came the Catholic Emancipation Act, and then, on the return of the Whigs to power, the Reform Bill of 1832 (Ch. XLIV). The period is important for the rule of Lord Hastings (p. 518) in India, and for the occupation of Singapore (p. 682); for the beginning of Railways (p. 589); and in literature for the poetry of Keats, Shelley, and Byron. George IV came to the throne in 1820, and was succeeded by William IV in 1830.

During the *Second* period, from 1832-54, the chief interest in Foreign affairs lay in the policy of Lord Palmerston; and the chief events in Europe were the movements connected with the Revolutions of 1848 (pp. 655-9). With regard to Home affairs, Queen Victoria began her long reign in 1837, under the tutelage of Lord Melbourne; and in 1846, during Peel's ministry, the Corn Laws, owing to the potato famine in Ireland (p. 646), were repealed (pp. 614-25). The other chief points of interest were the Poor Law Act of 1834 (p. 600), and the Ten Hours Act of 1847 (p. 597); in religion, the Oxford movement in England, and the disruption of the Church in Scotland (pp. 628-9); and in literature, many of the works of Tennyson and Browning, Carlyle and Macaulay, Thackeray and Dickens. In Imperial history the period is important; it saw the birth of the Self-governing colony in Canada (pp. 699-700); the development of Australia and the annexation of New Zealand (p. 703); the acquisition of Hong-Kong (p. 683); the abolition of Slavery (1833), which led to difficulties in Jamaica and South Africa (pp. 705-6); the first Afghan War, and the rule of Lord Dalhousie (1848-56) in India (pp. 685-90).

The *Third* period, 1854-78, was a period when momentous wars were fought. The Crimean War began in 1854 (pp. 659-65); the Indian Mutiny followed in 1857 (pp. 609-5); the Italian Liberation and the American Civil Wars came in 1859 and 1861 (pp. 665-7). In 1862 Bismarck rose to be the ruling minister in Prussia, and brought

about successively wars with Denmark, Austria (1866), and France (1870), the last of which led to a republic in France and the foundation of the German Empire (pp. 665-70). A few years later the Eastern Question became acute, but the Treaty of Berlin (1878) settled matters for the time (pp. 670-2). In Home politics, Lord Palmerston was the dominant personality till 1865, and then came the rivalry of Disraeli and Gladstone. The Reform Bill of 1867 was passed; and in 1870 education was made compulsory (pp. 625-38 and p. 598). Irish affairs absorbed much attention after 1869, and the Irish Church was dis-established and the Land Acts were passed (pp. 647-9). The Dominion of Canada was founded in 1867 (p. 700), and ten years later the Queen became Empress of India. The publication of Darwin's *Origin of Species* in 1859 marked an epoch in Science.

In the *Fourth* period, that since 1878, the main feature has been the interest shown by the nations of Europe in World Politics. There came on the part of the European nations, first, about 1884, the "grab" for Africa, and later, that for the Far East (pp. 680-3). At times there was no little ill-feeling between Great Britain and other European powers, and this was especially marked during the South African War in 1899 (p. 684 and pp. 710-4). With the accession of Edward VII in 1901 Great Britain began to emerge from her isolation; she made a treaty with Japan, and subsequently the Triple Entente with France and Russia, to balance the Triple Alliance of Germany, Austria, and Italy. The situation, however, owing to German ambitions, was precarious, and in 1914 Germany thought she saw her chance and seized it. The war began well for the Central Powers, for Germany and Austria; but eventually they were overwhelmed by the allied powers of Great Britain, France and Belgium, joined later by Italy and the United States (p. 726). The British Empire had meanwhile become consolidated; the Federation of Australia came in 1900 (p. 701), the Union of South Africa in 1909 (p. 714), and a closer connection was established between Great Britain and her Colonies through the Imperial Conferences of Prime Ministers (p. 715). In Home affairs, since 1878, the chief features were the further experiments in democracy made by the third Reform Bill of 1884, by the extension of Local Government in 1888, and the Parliament Act of 1911; the growth of State interference; the disputes between capital and labour; the break-up of the Liberal party in 1886 owing to the first Home Rule Bill, which gave their opponents a long career of office, and of the Unionist party in 1906, owing to the policy of Tariff Reform, which led the Liberals back to power, and of the Liberal Party once again owing to the war; the Land Purchase Act in Ireland, and the division of Ireland into the Irish Free State and Ulster (pp. 638-43 and 648-9).

In arrangement, Ch. XLIII deals with Social Progress; Ch. XLIV and XLVI with Politics and Parties, and Ch. XLVII with Ireland; Ch. XLVIII reviews Foreign Politics up till 1878, and Ch. XLIX World Politics since that date; Ch. L deals with the History of India since 1823; and Ch. LI with the Self-governing Colonies.

For list of chief dates of period see end of volume.

was correspondingly increased. Tradition says that "*Turnip*" *Townshend*, George I's minister, was the first to realize the importance of this discovery, and to develop on his Norfolk estates a four-year rotation of crops (e.g. wheat, some form of roots, barley, a mixture of clover and some form of grasses), never taking two successive corn crops off the same land; and this principle of rotation was generally adopted in the latter part of the eighteenth century in most parts of England.¹

Moreover, the scientific breeding of live stock, especially by *Bakewell*,² the developer of the famous Leicestershire breed of sheep, produced such changes that by 1800 the average weight of sheep was nearly three times and of cattle more than twice what it was at the beginning of the eighteenth century. New forms of manure for the land, new artificial foods for stock, were also discovered. The institution at the end of the century of the *Smithfield Club* for the encouragement of stock breeding, and of a new government department, the Board of Agriculture, are significant of the great interest taken in agriculture, an interest shared by George III himself, who started the model farm at Windsor, and wrote articles in agricultural newspapers.

These were not the only great changes that took place in agricultural conditions in this period. (Waste lands were reclaimed and made productive by enterprising land-owners.) Large farms were substituted for small farms in many districts. Above all, an enormous amount of common land and open fields—no less than seven million acres in George III's reign alone—was enclosed by individuals, chiefly of course the neighbouring landowners, through Acts of Parliament. At the same time more capital was expended on the land, more improvements were introduced, and the enclosed land was made far more productive—it has been estimated that its produce multiplied at least fivefold. But these changes led to the decay,

¹ There is a story that an archdeacon took a rector to task for growing turnips in a churchyard. "This must not occur again," he said. "Oh no, sir, next year it will be barley!" was the reply of the unrepentant rector.

² He was born in 1725 and died in 1794. People used to come from all over the world to see his bull "Twopenny" and his ram "Two-pounder"; and in his kitchen he would entertain "Russian princes, French and German royal dukes, British peers, and sightseers of every description".

and even to the disappearance, in many parts of England of the yeoman class and of the small farmers. They found in many districts increased difficulty in obtaining a livelihood owing the enclosure of the common lands on which they used to feed their stock, and, moreover, they were often tempted by good offers to sell their land.¹ Many of them sank into the position of labourers, and their condition during the earlier part of the nineteenth century was deplorable.

As regards manufactures, it is in the *Cotton Industry* that the most wonderful developments occur in this period, owing to inventions in both the spinning and the weaving of cotton. The first invention occurred in weaving; for in 1738 John Kay invented a shuttle which could be thrown mechanically from one side of the loom to the other. After this flying-shuttle came into use, the spinners had not enough yarn to supply to the weavers; but then came other inventions which revolutionized the spinning industry. Hitherto, one person could only look after one spindle; but in 1764 Hargreaves contrived a wheel which turned sixteen spindles—called, in honour of his wife's name, a "Spinning Jenny". Five years later, in 1769, Arkwright developed a process of spinning by rollers through water power. Finally Crompton by his "Mule" combined in his machine the principle of both these inventions. Consequently, one person could by the end of the century supervise hundreds of spindles. It was now time for a fresh development in weaving; and in 1785 Cartwright, a poet and a clergyman, despite the statement of manufacturers that it was impossible, set to work to make an improved weaving machine, and after three years found his efforts crowned with success in the power-loom which he invented.²

Hardly less remarkable than the development of the cotton

¹ Recent researches show that up till 1785 the number of small owners or yeomen steadily declined; but from 1785-1802 there actually seems to have been an increase in their number, except in those districts where the rapid growth of manufactories led people to migrate to the towns.

² Some conception of the magnitude of the changes effected by these and other inventions may be obtained by statistics. In 1750 only some forty thousand men were engaged in cotton industries; in 1831 over eight hundred thousand were occupied. And whereas in 1750 under three million pounds of cotton wool were imported, one hundred million pounds were imported in 1815, and nearly two thousand million pounds in 1906.

industry was that of *iron*. Hitherto iron had been smelted by charcoal, and as the forests decreased the price of fuel rose. But in the eighteenth century, chiefly through an improved blast invented in the year of George III's accession (1760), coke and coal began to be used in place of charcoal; and this placed the unlimited resources of the British coalfields at the disposal of the ironmasters. Other inventions followed, such as new methods of rolling and puddling iron—due to *Henry Cort*—and before the end of the century great ironworks had arisen in various districts. The “age of iron” had come; and in 1777 the first iron bridge was made, and in 1790 the first iron vessel launched.

Other manufactures besides that of cotton and iron were also developed, such as that of earthenware, owing largely to *Josiah Wedgwood*. The utilization of a new power—that of *steam*—is, however, far the most important feature in the period before 1815. The power of steam had been recognized some time before, but it was left to *Watt*¹—a mathematical-instrument maker of Greenock—to produce in 1769 the first efficient steam engine. At first the steam engine had only a vertical motion, and was used chiefly for drawing up water; later, however, was discovered the possibility of a rotatory and parallel motion, and steam power could then be utilized in manufactories. The last four years of our period saw still further developments. The first steamer, the *Comet*, sailed down the Clyde in the year of Napoleon's Russian campaign (1812). The first locomotive engine was invented by *Stephenson* two years later. And the year of Waterloo (1815) saw the invention by *Humphry Davy* of the safety lamp for the use of the miners without whose labour the employment of steam power would have been impossible.

Though the railway and the steamer really belong to the era after 1815, yet the period anterior to that date saw great improvements in the methods of communication. The canal, invented, like so many other things, originally by the Chinese, was introduced into England in

Means of
communication:
Canals.

¹ According to Sir Walter Scott, who saw him in old age, Watt was not only one of the most generally well-informed, but one of the best and kindest of human beings, who, in his eighty-fifth year, had “his attention alive to everyone's question, his information at everyone's command”.

1759. A canal made by *Brindley*¹ for the Duke of Bridgewater, from the Worsley collieries to Manchester, at once halved the price of coal in that city, and led to such a development in the building of canals, that by the end of the eighteenth century London, Bristol, Liverpool, and Hull were connected by water, as well as the Forth and the Clyde. Early in the next century no place south of Durham, so it was said, was more than fifteen miles distant from water conveyance.

In the earlier part of the eighteenth century the roads had been indescribably bad. One contemporary measured ruts a foot deep in one of the most important roads in the north, and
 Roads. found some roads in Sussex which a wet winter would make impassable even during the following summer, whilst in Scotland wheeled traffic on the roads was impossible. In the second half of the century, however, the roads in Great Britain were vastly improved, and just before the end of the period—in 1811—*John Macadam* reported to Parliament the new method of making roads which has made his name so familiar. The stage coach had been introduced as early as 1640; but in 1784 a man named *Palmer* introduced new mail coaches for passengers and mails which went with far greater regularity and swiftness than their predecessors.

New methods in agriculture, new inventions in manufactures, improved means of communication, all had their share in developing the prosperity of Great Britain, and in justifying
 The industrial revolution the name usually applied to this period in our economic history, that of the "Industrial Revolution". The influence of the great wars, however, in developing our commerce must not be forgotten. "War fosters commerce, and commerce fosters war", is the dictum of a distinguished historian; and though this may not apply to the modern world, the saying was true at this time of our own country, which was never invaded. In every war our imports and exports increased; and, above all, there was an immense extension of our merchant shipping, which was to become, in the nineteenth century, our most important industry.

¹ In the course of his life Brindley built as many miles of canals as there are days in the year, i.e. 365. He did most of his work in his head, as he wrote with difficulty, and never spelt with any approach to correctness. When he had a very puzzling piece of work, he went to bed and stayed there till his difficulties were solved.

The development of commerce was especially striking during the wars between 1793 and 1815. British shippers had the monopoly of the carrying trade; because under no other European flag were goods even moderately safe. British manufacturers were encouraged by the needs of war and by the practical suspension of manufactures in many parts of the Continent. British farmers, secure from foreign competition, obtained high prices for their corn. Great Britain indeed obtained during these years a lead which she was not to lose for some time.

2. Scientific Progress after 1815

We turn to the second of our two periods—from 1815 to the early years of the twentieth century. There is, to begin with, the revolution in the ways and methods of communication through the development of steam and the Means of communication. introduction of electrical power—changes which dwarf those effected by the canals and by better roads in the previous century. First and foremost came the introduction of railways. Railways. The locomotive engine had already been invented in 1814 by *Stephenson*, but it could only convey coals—for which purpose it was used—at three miles an hour. The first railway of any length had been projected in 1818, but the proposal had been thrown out in Parliament.¹ However, in 1821 the Stockton and Darlington Railway was authorized, and four years later opened for traffic, whilst in 1827 came the first use of the locomotive on rails in Scotland. But not much attention was attracted before the building of the *Liverpool and Manchester Railway*. Public interest in this was first stirred by the difficulties met with in the construction of the line; then by a race between four different kinds of locomotives, in which *Stephenson's* "Rocket", going to the finish at thirty-five miles an hour, was successful; and finally by the opening of the line in 1829 in the presence of the Duke of Wellington, the prime minister.² Fifteen years later, in

¹ Partly because it threatened to pass near a duke's fox coverts.

² The opening was marred by a sad accident. An ex-cabinet minister, Huskisson, who had quarrelled with Wellington, was present. He advanced to speak to the Duke and effect reconciliation, when an engine approached along the rails on which he was standing. Huskisson was rather clumsy, failed to get into a carriage on the other line, and was caught by the engine.

1844, came the great railway mania in Great Britain, when numerous railway companies were started and an immense extension of line laid down. By 1850 nearly all the big lines had been established.¹

One or two other points may be noticed. Queen Victoria made her first journey by railway in 1842. The Cheap Trains Act, which came into force in 1846, laid down that one train must run daily each way along every line, carrying passengers at one penny per mile. The railways, forced in this way to do more for the third-class passengers, soon found that they paid best of all, and in 1872 the Midland Railway allowed third-class passengers on all trains—an example which was soon followed by nearly all the big lines.²

Hardly less important than the development of railways was the development of steamships. The steamer had preceded the locomotive, but some little time elapsed before steamers came into great use. The first passage across the Atlantic by steam power alone was accomplished in 1838 by the *Great Western* in fourteen days at an average pace of just over eight knots; and within two years of this date the Royal Mail Steam Packet, the Peninsular and Oriental, and the Cunard Companies had been started. Every year has seen the development of steam power in navigation. The total tonnage of steam vessels of the United Kingdom in 1841 was only one-thirtieth that of the sailing fleet, and before the Suez Canal was opened in 1872 the quickest passages from China in connection with the tea trade were still done by sailing ships. But by 1883 the steam tonnage equalled the sailing tonnage, whilst at the end of Queen Victoria's reign it was four times as great. The advent of motor cars and flying machines shows that new possibilities of travelling are being developed, the results of which no man can foretell.

The increased facilities of communication may be realized by

¹ With the exception of Chatham and Dover (1860), the Midland (1863), and the Highland Railway (1865).

² Some statistics may be worth quoting. In 1845, the year before the Cheap Trains Act, the mileage of lines was 2441; in 1909 it was over 23,000. In 1845 over thirty-three million passengers were carried, in 1909 one thousand two hundred and sixty-five million; or, put in another way, whilst the railway information of Bradshaw's Railway Guide two years after Queen Victoria's accession (1839) was comfortably included in some half-dozen pages, the information seventy years later demands over nine hundred.

a few illustrations. A journey from London to Edinburgh in the earlier part of the eighteenth century might take anything from ten days to three weeks; it can now be accomplished in seven hours. It took the Duke of Wellington, in 1804, six months to return home from India; now a traveller from London can reach Bombay in just over thirteen days, and an important event that happened at Calcutta at sunset might be known in London, owing to the difference of longitude, by noon on the same day. In the time of the American War of Independence it took some six weeks to reach America; the latest record is well under five days. There is no need to multiply these illustrations; it is sufficient to say that it is as easy to get to the most distant parts of the world now as it was a hundred years ago to get to the most distant parts of Europe.

Vast changes, again, in the Post Office have improved the means of communication. The conveyance of letters, organized first in the reign of Charles I, had become a Government monopoly, and their delivery had been made quicker and more frequent by the employment, towards the close of the eighteenth century, of Palmer's mail coaches. But expense and delay were still characteristic of the Post Office system at the time of Queen Victoria's accession. The charge for letters, for instance, from London to Windsor was 5*d.*; from London to Cambridge, 8*d.*; and from London to Durham, 1*s.* Letters could not be posted after seven o'clock at night, and their delivery was exceedingly slow.¹ The reforms made were due, above all, to *Rowland Hill*. He proved that the expense of a letter did not vary appreciably with the distance it was carried, and owing to his efforts the penny postage was at last introduced in 1840. The postmaster-general of the day opposed the change on the ground that, if it was made, the Post Office might have to convey not forty-two millions (as they then did), but eight hundred and forty millions of letters annually—a number which would burst the walls of the Post Office. That particular number was, however, exceeded threefold some forty years later, and some faint idea

Some
illustrations.

The Post
Office.

¹ A letter written after 7 p.m. on a Friday night at Uxbridge, and posted at the earliest available moment, would not have reached Gravesend, distant only forty miles, before Tuesday morning.

of the volume of business may be gathered from the fact that the total weight of the stamps issued in 1907 was only just under 200 tons.¹ The delivery of letters has been, of course, enormously simplified and accelerated by the development of railways and steamers.

The *telegraph* and the *telephone* also assisted to revolutionize our means of communication. The first telegraph line was laid in 1844 from Paddington to Slough, and the capture of a murderer at the latter place by means of a telegram first drew popular attention to its possibilities. The telegraph line once laid in England, the next step was to lay cables to foreign countries; that to Calais was laid in 1851, and after many failures a cable, weighing 4300 tons, was at length, in 1865, laid across the Atlantic. At the present time all parts of the world are connected by cables, and no less than sixteen are laid from Europe to North America. Telephones followed in 1876, and have gradually been developed since that time. And we have yet to see the effects of wireless telegraphy, the possibility of which was first realized by *Marconi*.

Lastly, we must say something of not the least important element in our improved means of communication—the modern newspaper. The first regular newspaper appeared as early as the latter part of James I's reign. But it was not till the reign of Anne that the first daily London newspaper appeared, or that really able people like Defoe and Swift employed their pens as journalists. Steadily during the eighteenth century the influence and circulation of newspapers increased.² But in 1815 the newspapers were subject to heavy taxes. The stamp duty on each copy of a newspaper was 4d., the paper on which the newspapers were printed was taxed, and 10 per cent of the profits went in income tax, whilst in addition there was a special tax on advertisements. Moreover, the application of steam for printing had only just begun, and the methods of production were slow and costly. Consequently, the price of a newspaper

¹ Or, put in another way, whilst every person received on the average only four letters a year at Queen Victoria's accession, each person on the average now receives sixty.

² Of papers which survive at the present time, the *Morning Post* came into existence three years before the beginning (1772), and the *Times* two years after the close, of the American War of Independence (1785).

was 7d., and there were only six daily newspapers published in London.

These various duties have been gradually taken off. The use of steam and electricity has enabled webs of paper miles long to be converted into thousands of copies of newspapers in an hour. Newspapers to-day have their own special wires to Paris and Berlin, and their special correspondents all over the world, whilst the editors—such as Delane of the *Times* in the middle of the nineteenth century—have exerted enormous influence on public opinion, and often on the conduct of public affairs.¹

We have already alluded to the changes effected in agriculture and the cotton industry in the eighteenth century, and we have no space to enter in detail into the revolutions effected in every industry during the nineteenth century by an infinite variety of inventions and the development of machinery worked by steam and electricity. Nor can we do more than allude to other discoveries and inventions which have expanded our interests, like photography, or increased our knowledge, like the spectroscope, or saved us time in writing and reading letters, like the typewriter. Other inventions have increased the conveniences of life, such, for instance, as the use of gas², and later of electricity; or the invention of a new burner for lamps, or of phosphorus matches, the one a few years before and the other a few years after Queen Victoria's accession. Nor can we do more than allude to the wonderful developments of medical science. Of these the most striking, perhaps, are the introduction of *anæsthetics* about 1848, which made the most severe operations painless, and the use, in 1865, of *antiseptics*, which, it is calculated, has reduced the deaths from serious amputations from 45 per cent to some 12 per cent, besides rendering possible numberless operations never before attempted. Nor can we dwell here on the revolutions in scientific thought due, for instance, to the doctrine of the conservation of energy, and above all to the theory of natural selection propounded by Darwin in 1859 in

¹ The fact that the circulation at the present time of the most popular daily newspaper exceeds in thirty days the aggregate circulation of all the newspapers for the 365 days of 1821, shows how enormously their sale has increased.

² It was first made popular by the successful lighting of Westminster Bridge in the year of Vittoria (1813).

the *Origin of Species*—a theory which has profoundly affected man's speculations in every domain of thought.

3. Social Progress in the Nineteenth Century

Having briefly reviewed the revolution effected by science in trade and industry, we must mention some of its momentous results. First, and most striking, is the growth in population which is, to some extent at all events, the result of the industrial revolution. Previously the growth had been slow. The population of England and Wales, which was estimated to have been in 1570 about four and a quarter millions, took more than two centuries to double itself. But with the close of the eighteenth century came a rapid increase. The population of the *United Kingdom* has risen from fourteen millions in 1789 to forty-five millions in 1911, the development being greatest in England and Wales, where the population during this period has almost quadrupled.

Moreover, not only has the population increased, but the centres of population have shifted from the south to the north. Bristol and Norwich had been in old days next in importance to London; but the growth of cities such as Liverpool and Manchester was startling in its rapidity, and the north, owing partly to the contiguity of coal mines and iron, and partly to the suitability of the Lancashire climate for cotton manufactures, has become the great industrial and progressive part of the nation. Then, again, the population has shifted from the country to the town. In the old days the great mass of the nation had been occupied in agriculture. But the land was unable to support more labour. Indeed, of late years the combined effects of machinery and of the substitution of pasture for arable¹ have been to lessen rather than increase the demand for labour on the land, whilst the higher wages and greater excitements of the town have made the supply of labour hardly adequate even for the lessened demand. The chief reason, however, of the influx into the towns is that the *factory system*, under which

¹ Due chiefly to the fact that the growing of corn, owing to American competition, has since 1878 ceased in many districts to be profitable.

numbers of people are employed in large manufactories, has displaced the old *domestic system*, under which men worked in their own cottages or in the house of a small master. It is true that even as late as the "forties" and "fifties" of the nineteenth century many industries were in the hands of domestic workers or very small masters, but the development of machinery and of steam and electric power has made their eventual disappearance inevitable.

At the present time over three-quarters of the nation are town-dwellers. What the ultimate effect of this change on the nation

will be has yet to be seen; but some prophesy as a result Town
life. stunted bodies and shallow and excitable minds. As to the conditions of the towns, it may be said that, though often deplorable enough now, they used to be much worse. The corporations which used to govern them were inefficient and corrupt. Housing was scandalously insufficient and often squalid.¹ Gradually the conditions have improved. The Municipal Corporations Act of 1835 helped to reform the government of towns. Since the middle of the nineteenth century, and of late years to an immensely increasing extent, municipalities have taken in hand, on the whole with advantage to their towns, the supply of such things as gas, water, tramways, and baths, and even attempted to deal with the housing problem under an Act passed in 1891.

Not only has there been a great increase of population, but an even greater increase of wealth. It has been reckoned that the aggregate wealth of the United Kingdom, which at the Increase of
wealth. beginning of the nineteenth century was £2,000,000,000, was at the beginning of the twentieth £15,000,000,000.² Not only have great manufacturers, "Captains of Industry", arisen and made large fortunes, but there has been a striking increase in the numbers and prosperity of the middle and lower middle classes. To most of the labouring classes the factory system has in the long run meant greater regularity of work, bigger wages, better organization, and far less waste of human effort, and it has

¹ It was reckoned that in the year of Queen Victoria's accession one-tenth of the population of Manchester and one-seventh of that of Liverpool lived in cellars, whilst in Bethnal Green, which was fairly thickly populated, there was not one sewer.

² The imports per head of the population, which were in 1820 £1, 5s., have risen to £14 in 1909, and the exports per head during the same period have risen from £2, 1s. to £10, 9s.

employed a far greater number than was possible under the old system. Moreover, the ease of communication, and the enormous increase in the output and variety of manufactured goods and their infinitely greater cheapness, have enabled the many to enjoy comforts and conveniences that hitherto only the few had been privileged to possess.

Yet the new conditions have brought in their train great evils, the mitigation of which has been—since the Reform

Bill of 1832—one of the chief occupations of Parliament. We have already alluded to the conditions of the towns. The new factory system, again, led

—perhaps inevitably at first—to grave abuses. The factories were often unwholesome and insanitary; there was no *maximum*

of working hours, no *minimum* of ventilation or cleanliness, no adequate precautions against dangerous machinery or unhealthy trades demanded by the State.

Most horrible of all, perhaps, was the employment of children, who at an early age were sent in thousands by workhouses, charitable institutions, or by their parents to work long hours under the most depressing conditions. A committee appointed as late as 1840 found in manufactories¹ and in mines that, though boys and girls on the average began work between seven and nine years of age and worked twelve hours a day, yet they not infrequently began work as early as four years of age, and they were sometimes employed for sixteen or eighteen hours consecutively. Moreover, children in mines were often at work in the wet, in absolute darkness, and in an atmosphere in which a candle would not burn, opening and shutting trapdoors all day long, or dragging, tied by girdle and chain and on hands and knees, loads of coal unduly heavy for them.

Gradually these conditions have been improved, chiefly through the agency of a great series of Factory Laws—some forty in all. The first Acts, passed in 1802 and 1833, were confined to work in *cotton mills*, and the

latter of these Acts forbade the employment of children under nine in the mills, insisted that those between nine and thirteen should have two hours a day in school, and limited the hours

¹ Other than cotton mills, where it was forbidden by law; see next paragraph.

of work of those between thirteen and eighteen to sixty-eight hours per week. In 1842 an Act was passed which prohibited the employment underground of children under ten, and of women. In 1847, chiefly owing to the exertions of *Lord Shaftesbury*, and in spite of much opposition in Parliament, came the great Act which limited the hours of boys and girls under eighteen and of women in many factories to *ten* hours per day—an Act which had the effect indirectly of reducing the work of the men in many industries to the same number of hours.

Since the mid-century, State interference has steadily increased. Laws have been passed which sought to remedy the other evils of factory life, by insisting, for instance, upon a certain standard of ventilation and cleanliness, and laying down minute regulations about dangerous industries such as mining; whilst an army of inspectors has been appointed to see that these various laws are enforced. Not only factories and workshops but hotels and shops¹ have come under State supervision; and early in the twentieth century a series of Workmen's Compensation Acts was passed which has practically compelled all employers of labour to insure their workmen and servants against the risks which may arise out of their employment.

In Scotland, owing to the system of education established in 1696 (see p. 458), the people were more or less educated, but in England and Wales the ignorance of the people was as appalling as the conditions under ^{The ignorance of the people.} which many of them used to live and work. The Commission of 1840—already alluded to—found people who had never heard of London or of America, of Jesus Christ or of God except in an oath, and it is reckoned that, of the boys and girls of thirteen or fourteen years old, half could not read and nearly three-quarters could not write. Yet something in the way of education was already done before this. Towards the close of the eighteenth century Sunday schools had been started in most districts. Early in the nineteenth century two societies had been founded in order to build and maintain schools. In 1833 the State began to interest itself in education by making an annual grant of £10,000 to each of these societies, whilst in

¹ A shop girl, for instance, has a legal right to a seat behind the counter.

this same year a Factory Act insisted that children in cotton mills should have instruction for at least two hours a day. By degrees and through voluntary efforts the schools increased.

A new era opened in 1870; for in that year Mr. Forster passed the Elementary Education Act, by which the education of all children up to the age of thirteen—raised subsequently to fourteen—was made compulsory, and popularly elected School Boards were created to supervise it in districts where there was no school already built by voluntary effort or where the ratepayers desired it. Till 1891 the parents had to contribute, but in that year education was made free; so that at the present time, instead of the £20,000 of 1833, the community pays, either through rates or through taxes, £24,000,000 annually for the cost of education. Under an Act passed in 1902, the general control of education is, subject to the supervision of the Board of Education, now vested, in each county, in the County Council, and in the large towns in the Borough Councils; and great efforts are being made to develop secondary education, i.e. the education of those over fourteen. The State has recently gone one step farther; not only does it see that every child shall be instructed, but it also empowers the Local Authority to feed children who may be necessitous; and insists upon all children being medically inspected at least twice during their school career.

Scotland had, as we have seen, a long start in education; but even in that country reforms were necessary. By an Act passed in 1872, the control of the parish and other schools was transferred to elected School Boards, and the cost of maintaining the schools was borne by the rates; in 1882 better provision was made for secondary education, and a few years later elementary education was made free.

If the new conditions in trade and industry have made employment more stable for the great majority, they have made it more precarious for many. A large number of people are occupied in casual labour, such as the lockers, whose means of livelihood are uncertain, or in seasonal trades, such as building, which depend upon the weather. In the large towns, instead of learning a trade as an apprentice,

Unemployment.

boys on leaving school plunge into occupations in which there is no future, for the sake of the immediate wages offered.¹ People, again, who have acquired skill in one particular industry or occupation may find, as the result of a new machine or a new fashion, "their niche in industry broken up".² Trade, it is said, goes in cycles; years of prosperity are followed by years of depression, and many workers are consequently thrown out of employment. The worst periods of depression seem to have been during the years just before and just after the close of the great war with Napoleon, and for the five years succeeding the accession of Queen Victoria, whilst the civil war in America produced a cotton famine which had dreadful results in Lancashire in 1861.

As a result of all this, new and complex problems of poverty arose, problems which, so far, the State has not been successful in solving. It may be convenient here to trace the history of the *Poor Laws* in England. In England The Poor Law of Elizabeth. and Wales, under the Poor Law passed at the end of Elizabeth's reign (1601), each parish looked after its own poor, and overseers were appointed in each parish for this purpose. The impotent were to be relieved, the children to be apprenticed, and the able-bodied set to work; whilst the rogue or sturdy beggar caught "begging or misordering himself" was to be whipped, and then put to work or sent to a house of correction. But in the eighteenth century some fatal mistakes were made. In the first place, in 1782, a law was passed enacting that work must be found near his own home for an able-bodied man who applied for relief. Such a law led to work being undertaken which was often unnecessary and wasteful. Then, in 1795, during the great war, the Berkshire magistrates ordered that outdoor relief (i.e. relief outside the workhouse) should be given to those who applied, on a scale fixed according to the price of corn and the children in the family, and this policy was adopted in many other counties. No stigma attached to, nor were enquiries made about, nor any test of poverty imposed upon, those who applied for relief. Such a

¹ Indeed in London nearly three-fourths of the boys go into unskilled occupations.

² Perhaps the artisans in the eighteenth century were not to be altogether blamed if, foreseeing this, they broke into the house of Hargreaves and destroyed his machine, and so persecuted Kay that he had to fly to Paris.

policy was disastrous. The lot of the pauper was often preferable to that of the independent labourer, whilst in some places the wages were reduced, the labourer having the deficiency made up by outdoor relief. Consequently the cost of relief went up by leaps and bounds,¹ and in many places land went out of cultivation because it no longer paid, with such heavy rates, to till it.

A Commission which sat in 1834 revealed these and other abuses, and proposed a scheme, which was adopted. Under this scheme the parishes—some fifteen thousand in number—were grouped into six hundred and forty-three *Unions*. Each Union was controlled, subject to the general supervision of a Poor Law Commission, and subsequently of the Local Government Board, by Boards of Guardians, who were popularly elected from the districts comprised in the union, and whose officials—the relieving officers—had to enquire into the condition of applicants for relief, and report to the guardians. *Outdoor relief* (i.e. relief outside the workhouse in money or kind) might be given to the sick and aged, to widows and children. But for the able-bodied man, so it was hoped, the Union was to be “the hardest taskmaster and the worst paymaster he can find, and thus induce him to make the application for relief his last and not his first resource”. Hence on him was imposed the “workhouse test”; he was, as a rule, only to be allowed relief inside the workhouse, and his lot there was to be less eligible than that of the independent labourer outside.

There is no doubt that under this system many of the abuses which had crept in were swept away. The aim of relief has been,

in many unions, “to avert starvation, and not to bestow comfort”, whilst “pauperism has been, in the eyes of the poor, associated with disgrace”. A

Commission, however, which issued its report in 1909, has proved that, at all events of late years, it has not been satisfactory. No successful attempt has been made to link private charity and State relief together. The Local Government Board has not had sufficient powers of supervision. The Boards of Guardians have shown a most astonishing variety in their methods of relief, and

¹ In one village, for instance, the rates for the relief of the poor, though there was hardly any increase in the population, rose from under £11 in 1801 to £367 in 1832.

have proved themselves often inefficient and sometimes corrupt, whilst little interest has been shown in their election. The "workhouse test" has in many cases been neglected, and the workhouses themselves have been places where "old and young, infirm and able-bodied, imbeciles and epileptics" have been crowded together. Moreover, the relief—either indoor or outdoor—of all classes of the poor has been often either "too bad for the good or too good for the bad", either so scanty as to inflict real hardship on the genuine man in temporary want of employment and the poor widow who has to bring up her children, or so sumptuous as to attract the loafers who have never done an honest day's work. It must be left to future years to solve these and other difficult problems connected with the poor.¹ How important they are may be gathered from the fact that one in every twenty-one of the population, and four out of every nine who are over sixty-five years of age, in each year obtain some kind of pauper relief—either indoor, outdoor, or medical; or, put in another way, the total number relieved equals the combined population of Liverpool, Manchester, and Birmingham, and the cost of such relief is nearly half that of the army.

The history of the Poor Law in Scotland has been somewhat different. By an Act passed in 1579 each parish looked after its own poor. But relief was not given to the able-bodied, and there were no poorhouses, whilst in most parishes money relief was obtained, not by compulsory rates, but by other means, such as voluntary contributions. Consequently in Scotland it was not the profusion but the exiguousness in the relief given, not the extravagance but the parsimony of the local authorities, which were the chief evils. But in 1845 a law was passed which recommended the provision of poorhouses, and which ordered compulsory rates where necessary. The Poor Law Commission of 1909, however, found grave defects in the Scottish system. The parishes, which (except in the large towns) remain the unit of administration, are in many districts either too small or too large, whilst the prohibition of outdoor relief to the able-bodied, where it is not evaded, often leads to

The Poor Law
in Scotland.

¹ Since this Report was issued, the creation of Labour Exchanges has done something to mitigate unemployment.

they have in some ways prevented the labourer from making the best use of his ability, and though the strikes which they have organized have not always been justifiable, yet the trade unions have done much to raise the wages of their members, to find them employment, and to help them when sick or out of work.¹

XLIV. Politics and Parties from 1815 to 1832

The effects of the "Industrial Revolution" were felt not less in political than in other spheres of national life. The growth of the big towns, the increase in the numbers and importance of the middle class, all contributed to make it impossible to continue a system under which the vast majority of people had no vote, and the members of the House of Lords, through their influence over "pocket boroughs", nominated a large proportion of the members of the House of Commons (see Ch. XXXVI). The reform of Parliament was bound to come, and it is only surprising that it should have been delayed till 1832. The influence, however, of the French Revolution upon English opinion had been that reform was associated with revolution or with a military despotism like that of Napoleon. Moreover, the great war had occupied the energies of Great Britain until 1815. And after the war was over, her attention was at first taken up with matters other than political reform. Finally, when the agitation for reform did come, it was not immediately successful.

Influence
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Consequently, for the first seventeen years after the battle of Waterloo the British Constitution remained unchanged. The eldest son of George III exercised the powers of the monarchy, first after 1811 as *Prince Regent*, and then after 1820 as King *George IV*; but his private life was so disreputable that he was despised and disliked by the

George.
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¹ Of late years the membership of trade unions has largely increased; in 1906 the number of trade unions was over one thousand, with a total membership of over two millions.

great hardships being inflicted. The Scottish poorhouse is composed of as diverse elements as the English workhouse, and in other respects the Scottish system is open to the same objections as the English system; for instance, the inadequate control exercised by the Local Government Board, and the lack of supervision in the distribution of outdoor relief.

It has been evident from this brief summary that the State has taken, to an increasing extent, a larger share in controlling the lives of its citizens. Not only does it concern itself with the education of the young, the care of the destitute, the protection of the workers, but it has passed laws regulating the public health and the supply of food; it often arbitrates in disputes between masters and men; and in 1908 it passed laws which laid down a mass of regulations with regard to the children, and provided pensions for the aged over seventy. It may be reckoned that on education, public health, the poor, and the aged, some £70,000,000 of public money was spent in 1909. As civilization advances and gets more complex, the probability is that the duties of the State will become even heavier. Yet it must not be supposed that the State has brought about all the improvements that have taken place. Employers have become more humane; private charity has done much to alleviate distress; education is still largely assisted by voluntary effort; and, finally, the workmen themselves, by co-operation and by trade unions, have helped to better their own lot. The *Trade Unions*, composed of workmen—though not all the workmen—employed in each particular branch of industry, have gone through many vicissitudes. In 1800 a law—called the Combination Act—was passed, under which any artisan organizing a strike or joining a trade union was a criminal, and liable to imprisonment. Though this Act was repealed in 1825, a strike might still be a conspiracy, and a trade union could not claim the protection of the law. In the seventies unions were legalized, whilst in 1906 a bill was passed which gave them a privileged position, because the courts are not allowed to entertain any action against them in their corporate capacity, and they are no longer held financially responsible for the illegal actions of their officials in a strike. Though

Growth of
State
interference.

The Trade
Unions.

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best elements in the nation; and the power and influence of the Monarchy was, as a consequence, seriously weakened. The Government remained under the control of the landowning oligarchy; the Tory section of it was in power, first under Lord Liverpool till 1827, and later on under the Duke of Wellington. Finally, however, in 1830, a Whig ministry, pledged to Parliamentary reform, came into office.

1. Years of Distress, 1815-22

This period of seventeen years may be still further subdivided. The first seven years (1815-22) were years of even greater distress for the people than the later years of the Napoleonic War, and those who thought that times of peace were necessarily times of prosperity were grievously disappointed. British shippers, instead of enjoying a monopoly of the carrying trade, found eager rivals. British manufacturers found a great reduction in the demand for their goods both at home and abroad, partly because munitions of war were no longer required, and partly because foreign nations began to develop their own manufactures. British farmers found that the price of corn was nearly halved. In addition to this there were heavy taxes and some very bad harvests, especially that in 1816. As a result, there was a general depression in every industry. Mills were closed, iron furnaces blown out, and farms given up in many districts. Artisans and agricultural labourers, soldiers and sailors, were thrown out of work, and the numbers of the unemployed were further swelled owing to the transition from hand labour to machinery referred to in the last chapter. Nor did the poor gain the full effects of the reduced price of corn, as the price of bread did not decrease proportionately.

Riots in
Great
Britain.

As a result of the widespread distress, many riots arose. In the midland counties the riots—called Luddite¹ after the name of the man who originated them—took the form of the destruction of machinery. In London a mob,

¹ Ned Ludd was a village idiot in a Leicestershire village. Baited one day, he pursued his tormentors into a house and broke some machines. Hence, when machines were afterwards broken, it became customary to say that Ludd had broken them.

whose leader demanded universal suffrage and annually elected Parliaments, marched from Spa Fields with the intention of seizing the Tower, and did actually reach the City and effect some damage before it was dispersed. In Derby a riot, in which it is said some five hundred rioters were routed by eighteen hussars, was dignified with the name of an insurrection. In Manchester in 1819 a great meeting of some fifty thousand people was held in order to press for reform. The magistrates considered such a meeting illegal, tried to arrest its leaders, and finally ordered the yeomanry to charge and disperse the crowd. The yeomanry accordingly charged and killed one man, besides wounding forty other persons—an action generally known as the *Manchester Massacre* or the *Battle of Peterloo*, though the killing of one man hardly constitutes a massacre, and a contest in which one side was defenceless could hardly be called a battle. A year later, in 1820, came what is known as the *Cato Street Conspiracy*. A plot was hatched by some men in Cato Street, London, the purpose being to murder all the members of the cabinet whilst they were at a dinner party in Grosvenor Square, but the plot was fortunately discovered before it could be carried into effect. In Scotland also there was great discontent; a general strike took place in Glasgow in 1820, whilst at *Bonnymuir*, in Stirlingshire, the yeomanry had to fight a mob of armed insurgents.

In dealing with the critical situation produced by the depression in trade and the consequent rioting, the Tory Government relied upon two cures. To encourage farming, a law was passed forbidding the importation of corn till the price was 80s. per quarter. To discourage agitation and rioting, resort was had to coercion. The leaders of the mob were tried, and, if found guilty, were executed. The Habeas Corpus Act was suspended, and the Government was therefore able to keep people in prison without bringing them up at once for trial. And, finally, in 1819 Parliament passed what are known as the *Six Acts* or the *Gag Acts*—the most important being one which imposed a heavy stamp duty on pamphlets, and another making the calling of big public meetings illegal without the consent of the mayor of a town or the lord-lieutenant of a county.

The Corn
Laws and
Coercive
Acts.

This policy of coercion, though successful, was not popular. Moreover, on George IV's accession to the throne in 1820, the unpopularity of the Government was further increased by their attempt to pass, at the king's instigation, a bill of divorce against Queen Caroline, whom George had married in 1795, though he had lived apart from her for some time. Popular opinion was strongly in favour of the queen, and when the Government majority in the House of Lords sank to 9, the bill was abandoned. Though the death of the queen in 1821 saved further complications, the Government was discredited.

2. Beginning of Reforms, 1822-7

Liverpool's ministry.

With 1822 begins the second of our subdivisions. In the year what was to all intents and purposes a new ministry came into power, though it had the same leader in Lord Liverpool. Of the more reactionary or ultra-Tory ministers who had influenced the Government's policy

Addington retired from office (though not at once from the cabinet), and Lord Castlereagh, the foreign secretary and leader of the House of Commons, committed suicide. The chief of the new leaders in the cabinet was *Canning*. He had had

a brilliant youth. At Eton he had edited a paper with such ability that a London publisher gave him £50 for its copyright. Whilst at Oxford, he was introduced to Fox, and was invited to the great Whig houses. The French Revolution

however, converted him into a Tory, and he became, in 1796 under secretary for foreign affairs in Pitt's ministry, and made some famous contributions, satirizing the supporters of the Revolution, in a weekly newspaper called the *Anti-Jacobin*. On Pitt's resignation in 1801 Canning went out of office, but from 1804-6 he was a member of Pitt's second administration. In 1807 he became secretary of state for foreign affairs in the Portland ministry. The timely seizure of the Danish fleet in that year was due to him, and he was a strong supporter of our intervention in Spain and Portugal. Differences of opinion in the ministry between Castlereagh and Canning led to a duel

between them in 1809¹, but neither was seriously injured. Shortly afterwards, on Perceval becoming prime minister, Canning resigned, though, as an independent member, he advocated energetic measures in the Peninsula. When the war was over, he had served for four years in Lord Liverpool's ministry. In politics a moderate Tory, he became in 1822 leader of the House of Commons and secretary for foreign affairs. Two other moderate Tories took prominent offices: Huskisson became president of the board of trade, and Peel took Addington's place as home secretary.

As a result of this reconstitution of the ministry, the period, as it has been called, of legislative stagnation, which had lasted for some sixty years, came to an end. During the next five years (1822-7) many useful reforms were made. *Canning* inaugurated a new Liberal foreign policy. Proposals were made—which were not converted into laws till later—to make the Corn Laws of 1815 less stringent. *Huskisson* succeeded in repealing the Combination Law of 1800, which pressed so hardly upon workmen (see p. 602), and the Navigation Laws, which were held to be no longer necessary to protect our shipping. Considered in his own time an advanced free trader, Huskisson was in reality a moderate protectionist who abolished many of the duties on raw material, but who took care, whilst reducing the absurdly high duties on foreign manufactures, still to give some measure of protection to British manufactures by duties ranging from 30 to 15 per cent. At the same time he developed the prosperity of the colonies by encouraging emigration, by relaxing the Corn Laws in the case of colonial corn, and, above all, by allowing foreign countries to trade directly with them.

Meantime *Peel* revised the *Criminal Code* and mitigated its severity. At the beginning of the nineteenth century it was a capital offence, for which a man might be hanged, to rob a shopkeeper of goods to the value of 5s. or over, or to pick a man's pockets, or to steal a sheep, or to poach a rabbit warren.

¹The disagreement arose out of the failure of the Walcheren Expedition in 1809. In the duel each missed his first shot; Canning's second shot hit the button of Lord Castlereagh's coat, and Lord Castlereagh's second wounded Canning in the thigh.

It was largely due to Peel that the number of capital offences, which used to be no less than a hundred and sixty in number, has been gradually reduced till those of murder and treason are alone left. At the same time the fact that men were growing more humane is shown in the first attempts to prevent cruelty to dumb animals, and in the prohibition of spring-guns and man-traps, which had been not infrequently used in past times by game-preserving landlords.¹

3. 1827-32, Catholic Emancipation and the Reform Bills

The third subdivision begins in 1827. The death of Lord Liverpool, in February of that year, followed six months later by that of Canning after a short tenure of the premiership, opens a new period. The time for political reform had at last arrived. The next *five years* (1827-32) are taken up, first, with the struggle to secure *Catholic emancipation*, i.e. to allow Roman Catholics to sit in Parliament and to hold offices; and, secondly, with the struggle to secure the *reform of the House of Commons* itself. The first of these struggles took place during the premiership of the Duke of Wellington. The duke became prime minister in 1828, and his chief supporter was Peel. On Catholic emancipation Lord Liverpool's cabinet had been divided, Canning, for instance, being in its favour and Peel against it. But O'Connell's success in Ireland made both the duke and Peel feel that it was impossible to resist the reform any longer. George IV, after withstanding the appeals and arguments of his ministers in a five hours' interview, finally agreed to the bill being introduced, and it was passed. Henceforth Roman Catholics had the same rights as Protestants, except that they could not hold the office of lord high chancellor or lord-lieutenant of Ireland or succeed to the throne. Jews, however, continued to be excluded from the House of Commons up till 1858.

¹ The Game Laws used to be very severe. As late as 1816 an Act was passed punishing with transportation for seven years any person found by night in open ground having in his possession any net or engine for the purpose of taking any hare, rabbit, or other game.

In securing Catholic emancipation, Wellington lost the support of the extreme Tories without gaining the support of the Whigs. Moreover, he was too much of a soldier; his temperament was too domineering and his methods too arbitrary to make him a good prime minister, and he had to resign.

The fall of Wellington's ministry in 1830 followed immediately after the death of George IV. To the latter succeeded *William IV*, a genial and not illiberal monarch, and one who was personally popular. To Wellington's ministry succeeded a Whig ministry, the first since the ill-fated coalition of 1783. Its leader was *Lord Grey*. He was a high-minded and honourable Whig nobleman, genuinely devoted to Parliamentary reform; moreover, he was a good orator, though perhaps of too cold a temperament to arouse much popular enthusiasm. His chief lieutenants were *Lord Brougham*, the lord chancellor, a brilliant and erratic man, who, it was said, "knew a little of everything except law", *Lord Althorp*, who led the House of Commons, and three statesmen who subsequently became prime ministers—*Lord Melbourne*, *Lord John Russell*, and *Lord Palmerston*, who made a conspicuous mark as foreign secretary.

William IV and Lord Grey's ministry, 1830.

The Whigs had long been in favour of Parliamentary reform, and Lord Grey's Government made the passing of a *Reform Bill* their first and greatest object. Of the final struggle

for the reform of Parliament little can be said here.

The struggle for the Reform Bill, 1831-2.

The case for reform was overwhelmingly strong.

Yet the opposition on the part of the Tories was fierce and protracted. The Government, amidst intense excitement, carried the second reading of its first Reform Bill in the House of Commons by a majority of one in the largest division known till that time (March, 1831).¹ But in the consideration of the details in committee the Government was defeated. Accordingly the Government dissolved Parliament, and as the result of a general election obtained a largely increased majority. A second Reform Bill passed the House of Commons and was

¹ "You might have heard a pin drop", Macaulay wrote, "as Duncannon read the numbers. Then again the shouts broke out, and many of us shed tears. I could scarcely refrain."

rejected by the House of Lords. A third bill accordingly followed, which the House of Lords mutilated.

The popular excitement and indignation were overwhelming. In London the mob broke the windows of the Duke of Wellington's house,¹ and tried to drag him from his horse when he was riding through the City of London. The men of Birmingham threatened to refuse to pay taxes, and to march twenty thousand strong upon London, and the Bristol men burnt and sacked the Mansion-House and other places in that city. Additional troops had to be sent north to deal with threatened disorders in Scotland. The ministry, to bring matters to a crisis, resigned. The Duke of Wellington tried to form a ministry, but failed, and Lord Grey accordingly returned to power. The third bill was sent up again to the House of Lords. The duke, realizing that civil war was imminent, and that the king had agreed, if necessary, to create new peers,² gave way, and with his followers abstained from voting. The bill was passed, received the king's assent, and at last became law (June, 1832).

XLV. Politics and Parties from the Reform Bill of 1832 to that of 1867

1. The British Constitution, 1832-1911

To Liberal enthusiasts the passing of the Reform Bill was the panacea for all human ills; even children, it is said, went about their playgrounds shouting, "The Reform Bill has passed! The Reform Bill has passed!" To the Terms of
Reform
Bill. Tories, on the other hand, the passing of the bill meant the downfall of Great Britain; and the Duke of Wellington expressed the opinion that in six weeks' time Lord Grey would be out of office, and that henceforward no gentleman

¹ The duke consequently put up iron shutters, which remained till his death.

² "The king", so ran the document from the king, "grants permission to Earl Grey and to his chancellor, Lord Brougham, to create such a number of peers as will be sufficient to ensure the passing of the Reform Bill, first calling up peers' eldest sons."

would be able to take part in public affairs. Yet in itself the Reform Bill appears to us now a mild measure. It abolished a great number of "rotten" and "pocket" boroughs, a hundred and forty-three seats in all, and gave them to counties or large towns. The franchise in the counties was extended to copyholders¹ and long leaseholders of lands worth £10 a year, or to tenants-at-will of lands worth £50 a year, and in the boroughs to holders of houses worth £10 a year. But it is reckoned that under the bill only one person out of every twenty-two of the whole population had a vote.

The Reform Bill of 1832, nevertheless, broke down the monopoly of power possessed by the landowning aristocracy, and by giving the vote to all the middle class altered the centre of gravity in politics. Moreover, once a Reform Bill was passed, other bills were bound to follow. In 1867 a Conservative ministry passed the second Reform Bill, which gave the vote to the better-class artisan in the towns. And then, in 1884, the vote was given to the agricultural labourer in country districts and to nearly all men in towns. Since that date it may be said that practically every one has had a vote who is not a minor, an alien, a pauper, a criminal, a woman, a lunatic, or a peer.

The Reform
Bills of 1867
and 1884.

The Duke of Wellington's prophecy with regard to gentlemen ceasing to be able to take part in politics proved to be signally wrong. No doubt members after 1832 were drawn from a wider circle, and more merchants and more lawyers were elected than formerly, but the old governing families still had great influence. The most striking feature of British political life has been that, at all events till recent years, what may be called the public school class has governed Britain. Of our leading statesmen in the nineteenth century the great majority have been educated at the larger public schools.² Though, however, the character of our legislators did

Changes
in politics
after 1832.

¹ A copyholder is almost as complete an owner of land as the freeholder. It is true the land does not belong to him, but practically he cannot be dispossessed of it without his consent.

² In the Parliament of 1865 one-quarter of the members, it has been computed, were connected with thirty-one families, whilst in the Parliament of 1900 one-quarter of the members had been educated at either Eton or Harrow. Up till 1906 the number of Labour members was insignificant, and not one of them had entered the cabinet.

not greatly alter, yet the character of legislation did. The period of quiescence in legislation came finally to an end. The rival programmes of each party were full of legislative promises, and to an increasing extent, as the franchise was extended, this legislation has been passed for the benefit of the working classes. Moreover, the methods of politics changed. Reporters were admitted to the debates. The sessions were more protracted. Members became more regular in their attendance. Again, public meetings became far more common. Canning was the first great statesman to address them, but the prejudice against ministers in high office speaking in the country lingered for some time, and even as late as 1886 Queen Victoria objected to Mr. Gladstone addressing public meetings outside his own constituency.

We have already discussed the working of our Constitution between 1714 and 1832 (Chap. XXXVI), and we may say something about its practice from 1832 till the early years of the twentieth century. First of all, as to the *Crown*. It is difficult to estimate exactly the

Working of the
Constitution,
1832-1909.

importance of the Crown influence since the Reform Bill. In the sphere of foreign politics, however, its influence has probably been considerable. The increasing knowledge and experience which Queen Victoria, for instance, possessed, and her close family connection with most of the crowned heads of Europe,¹ were assets of great value in the conduct of foreign policy; and we know that Queen Victoria insisted on seeing all the foreign dispatches, and being informed and consulted on foreign affairs. Then, again, the personality of Edward VII was undoubtedly a great factor in withdrawing Great Britain from the dangerous isolation into which she had fallen. In home politics, the Crown, because of its independence and disinterestedness, has been eminently qualified to play the part of candid critic, and to prevent ministers being influenced by merely party considerations. More especially in the higher appointments, whether in Church or State, its opinions carry weight.

It is, however, in times of crisis that the need of the Crown is greatest. An alteration made by Queen Victoria in a dispatch probably saved us from a war with America in 1861, and the

¹ See the genealogy on p. 617.

singular felicitousness of the proclamation to the Indian peoples after the Indian Mutiny was due to her suggestions. The Crown, moreover, must choose the prime minister. Sometimes it may have to persuade statesmen to work together in a ministry, as in the case of Lord Aberdeen's ministry of 1852, or act as mediator between the rival parties, as in the Irish Church question in 1869. But the greatest influence of the Crown lies in its influence upon the empire. Whether in Great or in Greater Britain, the Crown is the symbol of the unity of the race; it can express, on behalf of the whole empire, the feelings of all. The undisguised rule of a temporary majority in the British House of Commons would be likely to provoke irritation rather than enthusiasm, but every part of the empire bears gladly the "golden fetters" lightly imposed through the existence of the Crown.¹

The *House of Lords* during this period was still powerful; but it no longer asserted its equality with the other House. The part played by the House of Lords in delaying or preventing legislation is at present a matter of fierce controversy. Many bills sent up by the House of Commons have been rejected by the Upper House; but the House of Lords has eventually passed most measures which it felt the nation really desired. The *House of Commons* became unquestionably the chief legislative body. It is there that bills were exhaustively discussed, and, above all, it was upon a majority in this House that the existence of a ministry depended. For during this period the *Cabinet System* passed through the last stages of its evolution. Composed, except in the case of one or two coalition ministries, of statesmen of the same party, the cabinet met under the presidency of a prime minister, who selected its members and might procure their dismissal. It was collectively responsible for the actions of each of its members. Its meetings were secret, and no formal record was kept of its proceedings. And, as the nineteenth century progressed, the cabinet has absorbed more and more of the time and energies of Parliament for the consideration of the

The Houses of Parliament.

The cabinet system.

¹ In order to appreciate the part that the Crown has played, the Queen's letters—which have been published up till 1861—should be read.

laws which it has brought forward. Moreover, the powers of the private member have declined; and this has made the claims of party more insistent and individual judgment less possible.

2. The Whig Ministries of Lord Grey and Lord Melbourne, 1830-41

We took as the first period in our political history since 1815 the seventeen years that elapsed between the battle of Waterloo and the reform of Parliament. We may take as a second period the thirty-five years between the first and the second Reform Acts, the years between 1832 and 1867, sometimes known as the period of the £10 Householder, because it was on his vote that the Government of the day depended. Party politics during this period are hard to disentangle. The tenets of parties were, it has been said, "shifting, equivocal, and fluid". Statesmen were found first upon one side and then upon another. Lord Stanley held high office in Lord Grey's Whig cabinet of 1830, and subsequently when Earl of Derby formed three Conservative cabinets.¹ Lord Melbourne was in Wellington's Tory ministry of 1828, and became a few years later the prime minister of a Whig ministry. Gladstone started his political career, in Macaulay's phrase, as "the rising hope of the stern, unbending Tories", and ended it as an advanced Liberal. Peel was the great leader of the Tories, and yet his chief measures were those to which the Tory party had always been most strenuously opposed. While the extremes of the two British parties, Macaulay once said, are separated by a wide chasm, there is a frontier line where they almost blend. Many of the chief statesmen during these years were near the frontier line, and found it easy to cross over. The two extremes—the ultra-Tories on the one hand, and the Radicals on the other—had nothing in common; but then they did not possess much influence.

For eleven years, from 1830-41, the Whigs—or Liberals as

¹ Curiously enough his son, after being foreign secretary in Disraeli's Conservative Government of 1874, became ten years later colonial secretary in Gladstone's Liberal Government.

they now began to be called—were in power. They had at first, under the leadership of *Lord Grey*, all the fresh energy of a party long exiled from office. As has been narrated, they reformed the system of election to the House of Commons in 1832. They reorganized, in 1834, the whole of our Poor Law system (p. 600). They abolished slavery in the British dominions. They passed the first really effective factory law for remedying the grave abuses in cotton-mills, and made the first State grant towards education. But disagreements about Irish policy led to the resignation, first of Lord Stanley, and later of Lord Althorp; and upon the resignation of the latter, Lord Grey, already over seventy years of age, insisted upon retiring from office (1834).

*Reforms of
Lord Grey's
ministry,
1830-4.*

Lord Melbourne succeeded as prime minister in 1834. Lord Palmerston remained foreign secretary, and Lord John Russell became leader of the House; but Lord Brougham's services as lord chancellor were soon dispensed with. The Melbourne ministry succeeded in remaining in office almost continuously for seven years. There were, however, two ministerial crises. In the very year of its formation, in 1834, William IV dismissed it because he objected to its policy—interesting as being the last occasion on which the Crown, on its own initiative, has thus acted. Peel was summoned from Rome to form a ministry, and at once dissolved Parliament; but, finding himself in a minority in the newly elected House of Commons, he resigned after four months of power, and Melbourne returned.

*Lord Melbourne's
ministries, 1834,
1835-41.*

The second crisis, in 1839, was due to the so-called *Bed-chamber Question*. Melbourne resigned because he had been almost beaten in the House of Commons over Jamaican affairs. Peel was called upon by Queen Victoria, who had succeeded to the throne in 1837, to become prime minister. But he and Wellington, the other Tory leader, insisted upon the ladies of the Queen's household, who were Whigs, being replaced by those of a Tory character. No doubt Peel was constitutionally correct, but he showed some want of tact and discretion in his dealings with a young queen barely twenty years of age.¹ The upshot was

¹ There was some truth in the Duke of Wellington's remark: "Peel has no manners, and I have no small talk".

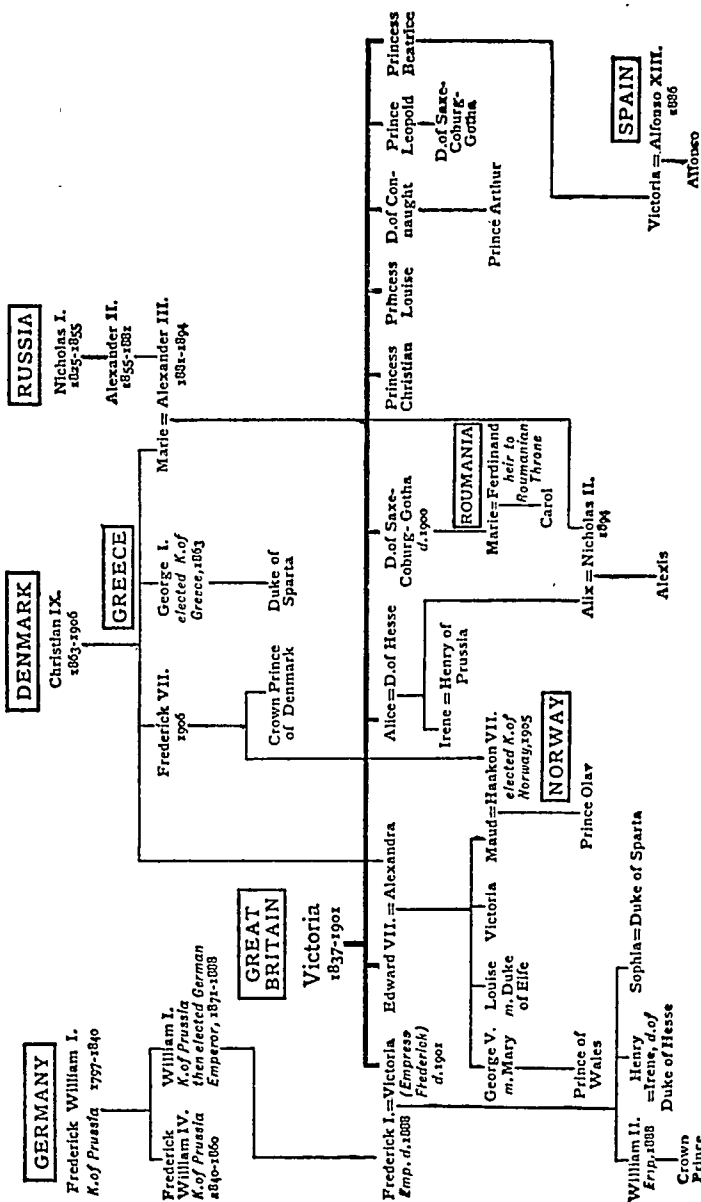
that the queen refused to change her ladies, and that Melbourne, to the queen's great satisfaction, returned to power. For more than two years Melbourne lingered on, though there were some very close divisions in the House of Commons. Finally, in 1841, he was beaten by one vote, and dissolved Parliament. In the new House of Commons there was a decided Tory majority, and Lord Melbourne retired from office—this time for good.

During Lord Melbourne's leadership the Whigs had lost their reforming zeal. The Municipal Corporations Act, indeed, had been passed in 1835, and Penny Postage introduced in 1839. But the ministry had adopted a very illiberal policy towards Canada, and failed to prevent a rebellion in 1839. Its policy towards the Jamaican planters who objected to the emancipation of their slaves aroused great opposition. Its administration in Ireland had, all things considered, been successful, and won for it the unusual support, during a greater part of its career, of O'Connell, the leader of the Irish party in the House of Commons; but the opponents of the ministry maintained, and with some reason, that it had not succeeded in keeping Ireland in order or repressing agrarian outrages.

On the whole, however, it was an advantage to the nation that Lord Melbourne remained in power for so long a period. He

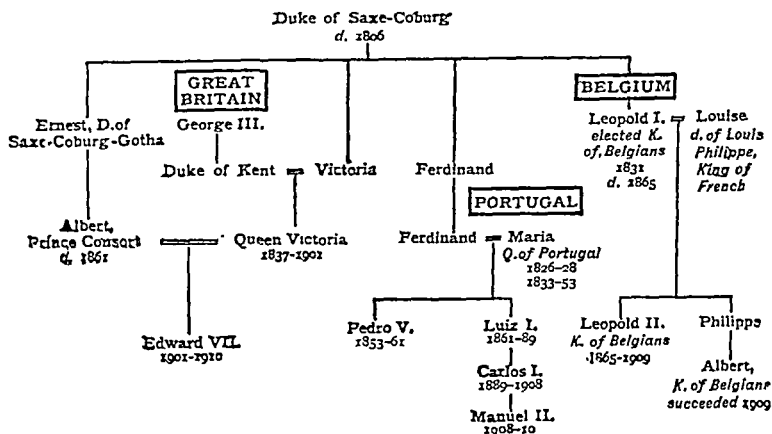
Character
and influ-
ence of
Lord Mel-
bourne.

had not been, it is true, an inspiring leader for a reforming party. Though he supported in a lukewarm fashion the Reform Bill of 1832, he had prophesied that its result would be "a prevalence of the blackguard interest in Parliament"; and he was against "any tampering with the Corn Laws". A liberally minded and cultured man, he was yet too cynical and too indolent to be possessed of any enthusiasms. "Why not leave it alone?" was his invariable query to proposals emanating from the more advanced sections of his party. "It doesn't matter what we say, but we must all say the same thing," was said to have been his remark at a cabinet meeting. But his shrewdness and humour, combined with his kindness and tact, which kept his cynicism under control, made him just the sage and worldly-wise counsellor that a young queen who had been brought up in some retirement by a German mother required. He was in constant attendance upon the queen during



Genealogical Table showing Family Connections of Queen Victoria

the early years of her reign, acting as her secretary and spending often six hours a day in her company; and no one can read the correspondence between them without realizing the great debt which the country owes to the queen's first prime minister.¹ In the words of the Duke of Wellington, it was Lord Melbourne "who taught the queen how to preside over the destinies of this great country". The singularly happy marriage, in 1840, of the queen with *Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg* made the further tute-



Family Connections of the Prince Consort

lage of Lord Melbourne unnecessary, and with his retirement, in 1841, the Prince Consort—as Prince Albert was called—became the queen's secretary and confidential adviser.

3. Sir Robert Peel's Conservative Ministry and the Repeal of the Corn Laws, 1841-6

With the fall of the Whigs in 1841 the Tories returned to power. *Sir Robert Peel* was at last able to form a more durable ministry than on the two previous occasions on which he had been called to office. Peel, who was the son of

¹ "I have no doubt Lord Melbourne is passionately fond of her," wrote a contemporary, "as he might be of his daughter if he had one. It is become his province to educate, instruct, and form the most interesting mind and character in the world."

a wealthy manufacturer, had been destined, like the younger Pitt, for politics from his birth.¹ When he was barely of age, in 1809, his father bought for him a "rotten borough" in Ireland. He quickly made his mark in Parliament. His maiden speech was pronounced to be "the best first speech since that of Mr. Pitt", and within a year he became an under secretary of state. In 1812 Lord Liverpool made him chief secretary for Ireland, and for the next six years he remained the virtual ruler of that country. Subsequently, in 1822, as we have seen, he was given the post of home secretary² in Lord Liverpool's reorganized ministry, and in 1828—just before he was forty years of age—he became, in the Duke of Wellington's ministry, leader of the House of Commons. During the Whig ascendancy, from 1830 to 1841, he had industriously revived the energies of the Tory or, as he preferred to call it, the Conservative party. He had succeeded in introducing many important amendments into the Whig measures, and had recruited promising young men such as Gladstone and Disraeli to serve under his banner.

Peel thus found himself, in 1841, at the head of a great party, and his only difficulty with so much talent at his command was whom to exclude from office. The ministry which he eventually formed was exceptionally strong. It included four past or future prime ministers, in the *Duke of Wellington*, who held at first no office of State, though later he became commander-in-chief; *Lord Aberdeen*, the pacific foreign secretary; *Lord Stanley*, who was responsible for the colonies; and *Gladstone*, who was given a post at the Board of Trade. Besides these, there was Peel's closest ally, *Graham*, who was home secretary, and an experienced and clever lord chancellor in *Lord Lyndhurst*. Yet in this galaxy of talent Peel stood pre-eminent. Though a shy man, cold and awkward in his manner towards his political followers,³ he was a weighty and cogent speaker, and his skill and tact in managing Parliament made him,

Characteristics of Peel's ministry, 1841-6.

¹ When still a boy at Harrow he used to listen to the debates in the House of Commons. At Oxford he had worked prodigiously hard, studying just before his examination some eighteen hours a day, and he was the first Oxonian who obtained a double first; this was not possible before owing to the system of examinations.

² It was whilst he was home secretary that he formed the Metropolitan Police—hence their nicknames "peelers" or "bobbies", as his Christian name was Robert.

³ It was described as "haughtily stiff or exuberantly bland".

in Disraeli's opinion, the greatest member of Parliament that ever lived. His immense powers of work, the clearness of his intellect, and his great experience enabled him not only to spend eight hours a day in the House of Commons attending the debates, not only to conduct a huge correspondence, but also to supervise, to an extent which no subsequent prime minister has probably even attempted to equal, the affairs of the various departments of State. Mr. Gladstone thought Peel's ministry "a perfectly organized administration". "Neither the Grand Turk nor a Russian despot", said Cobden, the free trader, "had more power than Peel."

Of the four or five most memorable administrations of the century, it has been said, the great Conservative Government of Sir Robert Peel was undoubtedly one. It had to deal with a situation which required the exercise of its great talents. In foreign affairs, there was actual war with China, a prospective war with Afghanistan, relations strained almost to breaking-point with France, and boundary disputes with the United States. At home, there was in trade great depression; amongst the poor distress was universal, and one person in every eleven was a pauper; rioting and sedition were rife; and the national revenue had shown during the last five years a heavy deficit. How the foreign difficulties were overcome is related elsewhere (Chap. XLVIII). In domestic affairs, the first object of Peel's attention was the Peel's finance. reorganization of national finance. He imposed an income tax of 7*d.* in the pound. This not only remedied the deficit, but enabled him to lessen the burden of the customs duties. Continuing the policy of Huskisson, he—during his five years of office—reduced over a thousand of these duties and abolished over six hundred, and by so doing enabled the raw material for manufactures to be obtained far more cheaply and the cost of living to be reduced. This does not exhaust Peel's achievements in finance. By the *Bank Charter Act* of 1844 he reorganized the banking system of the country, and limited the issue of bank notes payable on demand, notes which in previous times bankers had been in the habit of circulating with dangerous profusion.

In company with many other prime ministers, Peel found Ireland a difficulty during his period of power. It is related elsewhere (Chap. XLVII) how Peel stifled the movement for the

repeal of the Union under O'Connell, who was now in opposition to the Government. But Peel was not averse to Irish reforms. He made a grant towards the Roman Catholic College of Maynooth, and appointed a commission—known as the ^{Ireland.} Devon Commission—to enquire into the Irish land question. Before, however, any legislation could be founded upon the report of this commission, a famine occurred in Ireland which was to cause not only the fall of Peel, but almost the destruction of the party which he led.

It will be remembered that after the great war with Napoleon was over, a law was passed prohibiting the importation of foreign corn until the price of corn at home had reached a certain height. Subsequently, in 1826, a sliding ^{The Anti-Corn Law League.} scale had been adopted whereby the duties on foreign corn varied with the price of corn at home. But gradually popular feeling was aroused against laws which made the price of bread so high. Since England's population had grown so big, it was no longer possible to grow enough corn at home cheaply, and bad seasons, therefore, were apt to cause much distress. In 1838 the *Anti-Corn Law League* was founded by some Manchester merchants. The League was fortunate in its two orators, *Cobden* and *Bright*, the one the son of a small Sussex farmer, and by profession a Lancashire calico printer, and the other the son of a Lancashire cotton spinner. Cobden had the power of stating a case with such clearness that the dullest and most ignorant could understand it, whilst Bright's chief strength lay in his power of pulverizing the arguments of his opponents. These two, in Cobden's words, lived in public meetings, traversing Great Britain from end to end, proclaiming the doctrine of free trade, and exhorting the people to agitate for the abolition of the Corn Laws. Cobden was elected a member of the House of Commons in 1841, and Bright in 1843, and they, of course, proved a powerful reinforcement to the small band of free traders in that assembly.

Peel had come into office at the head of a party which strongly favoured the maintenance of the Corn Laws. He had, however, already modified these ^{The Irish Famine and the Corn Laws.} laws in 1844, not without some dissatisfaction from members of his own party, and he seems gradually to have reached

the conclusion that the interests of the nation demanded their total abolition. And then came the event which forced him to take immediate action. In 1845 a disease appeared in Ireland which ruined the potato crop of that year. More than half the population of Ireland depended for their food exclusively upon potatoes, and famine with all its horrors threatened the Irish people. Corn, the only possible substitute, was deficient in Great Britain owing to heavy July rains, and could not be imported from abroad except under heavy duties. Peel decided that these duties must be suspended and ultimately abolished. But he was unable to persuade the majority of his colleagues to agree with him, and accordingly resigned office. Lord John Russell, the leader of the Whigs, who had also declared for the abolition of the Corn Laws, was called upon to form a ministry. He failed, however, to do so, and Peel was then recalled.

With the exception of Lord Stanley, Peel was able to include in his new ministry all the more important of his former colleagues, for many Tories felt that the abolition of the Corn Laws, with Peel as leader, was at any rate preferable to a ministry composed, in Wellington's phrase, of "Cobden and Co.," which might attempt reforms of even more radical a character. Fierce opposition, however, came from one section of the Tory party which held firm to protection. Their leaders were *Lord George Bentinck* and *Benjamin Disraeli*. The latter, in a series of brilliant and virulent speeches, called Peel's Government an "organized hypocrisy", and said of Peel himself that he was a "sublime mediocrity",¹ and that he "was no more a great statesman than the man who gets up behind the carriage is a great whip". Peel nevertheless succeeded in persuading Parliament to repeal the Corn Laws; but he was beaten in an attempt to pass a Coercion Act dealing with the disorder in Ireland, and resigned—never to return to office again.

Twice, it was said, Peel had betrayed his party—once when he yielded over Catholic emancipation in 1829, and again when he repealed the Corn Laws. Whether his conduct, in either or

¹ Amongst other things, he compared Peel's conduct to that of the Turkish admiral who steered his fleet straight into the enemy's port, and who defended his conduct on the plea that he was an enemy to war, that he hated a prolonged contest, and that therefore he had terminated it by deserting the cause of his master.

both of these cases, was justifiable, will always be matter for controversy. It is not necessary, however, to doubt the sincerity of Peel's own change of view. He was one of those statesmen very near the border-line between the two parties, and he has been truly called the most Liberal of Conservatives and the most Conservative of Liberals. The truth seems to be that, though he was the leader, he was not really representative of the opinions of the party to which he belonged, his views being those of the middle class, from which he sprang, and not of the great landowners. And it was all to his credit that he had the courage and open-mindedness to reconsider his opinions, and, if they changed, to act accordingly. The only charge that can be fairly urged against him is that he was secretive and reserved whilst re-forming his opinions, and gave his party scant notice of his change of view.

Did Peel
betray
his party?

4. The Ministries of Lords John Russell and Aberdeen, 1846-55

Peel, by putting an end to protection, had split his own party. One section, under Bentinck, Stanley, and Disraeli, in theory continued to remain protectionists. Another, to which the Duke of Wellington, Lord Aberdeen, and Gladstone belonged, were known as Peelites, because they remained the faithful supporters of their old leader. As a result of the Tory disunion, the Whigs, under *Lord John Russell*, returned to office in 1846, and remained there till 1852. The ministry, however, was a Whig ministry of the old type, consisting of peers or the connections of peers, and the more advanced elements of the Liberal party were not represented. Ireland at first claimed the attention of the Government, and the ministry had to propose measures to alleviate the distress and to repress the disorder caused by the famine.

Peelites and
Protectionists.

Lord J. Russell's
ministry, 1846-52.

A popular movement in Britain, known as the Chartist movement, was the next difficulty which faced the ministry. It obtained this name from the fact that its promoters had drawn

up a "People's Charter" which demanded six concessions—manhood suffrage, vote by ballot, annual Parliaments, payment of members, abolition of property qualification for members of Parliament, and equal electoral districts. The movement had reached formidable dimensions in 1838, and had led to serious riots. After that it had been quiescent, only to show increased energy in 1848, owing to the great revolutions in that year all over Europe (Chap. XLVIII). An Irishman, by name *Feargus O'Connor*, an enormous man with a great capacity for mob oratory, was its leader.¹ A monster petition was prepared, containing over five and a half million signatures. O'Connor's idea was to lead a gigantic procession and present the petition to the House of Commons. But the Duke of Wellington, as commander-in-chief, made such an arrangement of the troops that all prospects of disorder were dissipated, and, in addition, one hundred and seventy thousand special constables, drawn chiefly from the upper and middle classes, were sworn in to keep order if the need arose. In the end, on a wet day, the monster petition was taken to the House of Commons in a hackney coach, but the procession was not allowed to cross Westminster Bridge. Then the petition was examined, and more than half the signatures were discovered to be forgeries. The Chartist agitation failed to survive the ridicule and discredit that this revelation brought upon it, and died harmlessly away, though several of its original demands were granted, wholly or in part, in later years. Compared to the revolutions on the Continent, the Chartist movement in Britain was a very small affair; the forces on the side of order in Britain were too strong, and, moreover, the Government being based on popular support, the Chartist movement failed to win much national sympathy.

In 1852 Lord John Russell's ministry came to an end. The foreign policy of Lord Palmerston had been severely criticized by the queen, and his methods were so irregular that he was forced by Lord John Russell to resign (1851). A few months later Palmerston

The Chartist movement, 1848.
Fall of Lord J. Russell, 1852.

¹ He appealed, he said, "to the unshaved chins, the blistered hands, and fustian jackets of the genuine working man".

had what he called his "Tit-for-tat" with Lord John Russell, and beat him in the House of Commons over an amendment in a Militia Bill, a defeat which led to the resignation of the ministry (1852).

On Lord John Russell's resignation, followed by a brief tenure of power by Lord Derby (the Lord Stanley of Peel's ministry), who did not attempt, however, to revive protection, the queen persuaded the leaders of the Peelites and of the Whigs to combine in a coalition ministry. Peel had died in 1850, and the Duke of Wellington in 1852, but Peel's followers held the two most important positions in the ministry—*Lord Aberdeen* being prime minister, and *Gladstone* chancellor of the exchequer. The two chief Whigs, *Lord John Russell* and *Lord Palmerston*, made up their dispute, the one becoming leader of the House of Commons, and the other home secretary, whilst Lord Clarendon was made foreign secretary. "England does not love coalitions" was Disraeli's remark upon this ministry, and it lasted but a short time and accomplished little. Gladstone, however, had time to sweep away the remaining protective duties, and made Great Britain a purely free-trade country. In foreign affairs the ministry showed itself somewhat weak and hesitating, as a coalition of such diverse elements was perhaps bound to be, and its mismanagement of the Crimean War led to its resignation in 1855.

*Lord Aberdeen's
Coalition
ministry,
1852-5.*

5. The Dictatorship of Lord Palmerston, 1855-65, and the Reform Bill of 1867

For the next ten years (1855-1865) Lord Palmerston was the practical dictator of the country. On two occasions, however, he found himself in a minority. He was beaten, in 1857, in the House of Commons because he upheld a high-handed action of our agent in Hong-Kong. He thereupon dissolved Parliament and came back with a considerable majority. On the second occasion, a few months later, in 1858, he was held to have truckled to France. A man called Orsini had tried to murder

*Lord Palmerston's
ministries, 1855-8
and 1859-65.*

Napoleon III, the ruler of that country. He had contrived his plot in London, and, in order to prevent the recurrence of such an affair and to soothe French susceptibilities, Palmerston brought in a Conspiracy to Murder Bill, making such a conspiracy a felony punishable by penal servitude for life. The opposition represented this bill as due to French dictation, and the bill was thrown out. Palmerston resigned. Lord Derby formed the second of his administrations, only to make way, after fifteen months of office, for the return of Palmerston in 1859.

Apart from foreign affairs, of which Lord John Russell had control after 1859, there is little of importance to record during these ten years. *Gladstone* had developed into a Liberal, and in 1859 became the chancellor of the exchequer. He exhibited great financial skill and still greater powers of oratory in the budgets which he annually produced. After the Crimean War, in which France had been our ally, was over, Great Britain became very apprehensive of Napoleon III's ambitions, and the scare of an invasion from France led to the formation, in 1858, of the *Volunteers*, who fifty years later were merged in the Territorial Army. The *Prince Consort* died in 1861. Though never very popular in Great Britain, and though at times his influence over the queen, especially in foreign affairs, was somewhat resented and sometimes misunderstood, he had devoted his whole energies to his adopted country, and his death was a great loss. Moreover, the grief of the queen was inconsolable, and she lived in almost complete retirement for the next ten years.

Lord Palmerston died, "full of years and honour", in 1865, when within two days of his eighty-first birthday. Few can have had a larger experience of political life than he had. He had been given a "rotten borough" to represent in 1807, on the quaint condition of its owner that "he should never set foot in the borough", and had remained a member of the House of Commons till his death nearly sixty years later. He had served under ten prime ministers. For nearly fifty years he had been a minister of the Crown, and for a greater portion of the time since 1830 he had

Domestic
affairs,
1855-65.

Career of Lord
Palmerston
(d. 1865).

been mainly responsible, either as foreign secretary or as prime minister, for the foreign policy of the country. Lord Palmerston has been described as a thorough English gentleman. He was a good-humoured and good-tempered man, bluff and hearty, loving a political fight, and yet a generous foe. He was an excellent landlord and a keen sportsman, who made of his exercise, as he said, "a religion"¹. Masterful in council, expert in administration, he possessed all those qualities of common sense, self-confidence, and courage which appealed to his country, and towards the end of his life his supremacy was hardly questioned, even by his political opponents. He has been described, with some truth, as a Conservative at home and a Revolutionist abroad. After 1832 he had little sympathy with further reform movements in Great Britain, and whilst he was in power no reforms were passed; but his sympathy with Liberal aspirations in countries which did not enjoy the same measure of self-government and liberty as Great Britain was sincere and outspoken (p. 655).

After Lord Palmerston's death the further reform of Parliament could no longer be delayed. The agitation in favour of reform became serious, and a gigantic procession organized by the reformers swept down the railings of Hyde Park when its members were not allowed to pass through the park gates. Lord John Russell, who succeeded Palmerston as prime minister, tried to pass a bill, but some of his own party—who were compared by Bright to the discontented refugees in the cave of Adullam, and hence came to be known as "the Adullamites"—attacked the bill so fiercely that Lord John Russell resigned. Lord Derby then formed the third and last of his administrations. The Conservative leaders, and in particular Disraeli, considered that a Reform Bill must be produced, though Lord Derby confessed it was a "leap in the dark". Consequently Disraeli, in 1867, piloted a new *Reform Bill* through the House of Commons, though he had, as he said, "to educate his own party" as he did so, and though he

The Reform
Bill of 1867.

¹ Lord Palmerston riding on his old grey horse was one of the most familiar sights in London, and he thought nothing of riding in the rain to Harrow—his old school—and back when not far short of eighty years of age.

had to accept many amendments from the opposition leader, Gladstone.

6. Review of Affairs outside Party Politics, 1832-67

On the whole our domestic politics from the fall of Lord Grey in 1834 to the Reform Bill of 1867 were, apart from the struggle for the repeal of the Corn Laws, unexciting.
Review of
affairs,
1832-67. This was partly due to the fact that the programme of the Liberals or Whigs was exhausted, and that they desired organic changes no more than the Conservatives. Moreover, towards the close of the period the attention of Great Britain was increasingly drawn to affairs outside her own shores. First came the revolutionary movements of 1848. Then followed the intrigues and negotiations leading to the Crimean War of 1854. Immediately after the termination of that war came the Indian Mutiny of 1857, which was followed by the war of Italian Unity in 1859. The American Civil War occurred in 1861, and caused the stoppage of the supply of raw cotton from the Southern States, thus causing the most fearful distress in Lancashire, as many of the cotton mills had to be closed. Later on came the Danish question which led to the Austro-Prussian War of 1866 (see Ch. XLVIII, §§ 2 and 3). But, above all, the best energies of the nation were occupied in other directions. The later years of the period were years of wonderful and continuous progress in industries and manufactures, a progress which was illustrated by a great exhibition held in Hyde Park in 1851. In the domain of literature, Tennyson and Browning, Thackeray and Dickens, Carlyle and Ruskin were doing some of their best work. In the domain of science, Darwin was arriving at that theory of natural selection based on the facts of evolution which was to be published to an astonished and at first incredulous world in 1859.

Moreover, both in England and Scotland, ecclesiastical controversies were acute. In England, in 1833, the *High Church* or *Oxford movement* was initiated at Oxford by Newman and Keble.

Its object was not only to make people realize the continuity of the Church of England, and to revive some of the ceremonies and doctrines of the early and middle ages, but also to bring the Church more in touch with the needs of the time. The opponents of the High Church party, the Broad Church and Low Church parties, maintained that the opinions of the more extreme, at all events, of the High Church party were contrary to the doctrines of the Church of England as settled at the Reformation, and approximated to those of the Church of Rome. Colour was lent to this charge by the fact that Newman seceded to Rome in 1845,¹ and that his example was followed by many others. These ecclesiastical controversies occupied much public attention, especially between 1840 and 1865. They were of considerable benefit to the Church of England, as they provoked keenness and energy, and ever since the Oxford movement the activities of that Church have been manifold and productive.

The High
Church
movement.

In Scotland, also, there was, during these years, a great religious movement. As has been explained in an earlier chapter (see Ch. XXXV), Presbyterianism had, after the revolution of 1688, been established as the State religion of Scotland. But considerable dissensions had at various times arisen, more especially as to the system in Scotland whereby ministers were appointed by individual lay patrons. It was held by a great many that the appointment of ministers should rest, not with any individual, but with each separate congregation or their representatives, and at all events that the latter should possess a veto on any appointment. The matter came up before Parliament, but the Government would not recognize the right of veto. Consequently in 1843 came the famous disruption in the Scottish Church, and a large number of people, headed by *Dr. Chalmers*, founded a new organization called the *Free Church of Scotland*. Some sixty years later, in 1900, the great majority of the members of the Free Church amalgamated with the United Presbyterian Church, the other chief dissident from the State Church, and formed "the United Free Church", though a minority declined to unite and remained a separate organization.

The Disrup-
tion of 1843
in Scotland.

¹ He eventually became a Cardinal.

XLVI. Politics and Parties from the Reform Act of 1867 to the Parliament Act of 1911

1. From the Reform Act of 1867 to the Home Rule Bill of 1886

We may take as our third period in our survey of politics since 1815 the nineteen years that elapsed between the passing of the second Reform Bill of 1867 and the defeat of the Home Rule Bill of 1886. The Reform Bill of 1867 opened a new era. Under that bill as finally passed, all rate-paying householders were given the vote, and lodgers who paid £10 a year in rent,¹ whilst in the counties the occupation franchise was lowered to £12. Henceforth the artisan in the town became the arbiter in politics, and the parties had to adapt themselves to their new master. The Whigs became definitely Liberals, and the Radical element grew increasingly stronger in their councils. The more enterprising of the Conservatives called themselves Tory-Democrats, and wooed the working man with words as honeyed as those of their opponents, and promises hardly less lavish. Moreover, by this time the old leaders had disappeared. Lord Palmerston, as we have seen, died in 1865. Lord John Russell retired from public life after his defeat in 1866, and Lord Derby after the passing of the Reform Bill in 1867. Lord George Bentinck had died in 1848, Sir Robert Peel in 1850, the Duke of Wellington in 1852, and Lord Aberdeen in 1860. The way was thus left open for two men, Benjamin Disraeli and William Ewart Gladstone.

Seldom in English history have two great statesmen living in the same age been so different as *Gladstone* and *Disraeli*. Gladstone was of good Scottish descent, and enjoyed an education at Eton and Oxford. He made his reputation originally by a book in which he advocated High Church principles with regard to Church and State, and began his

Gladstone
and
Disraeli.

¹ Provided that they had occupied the lodgings for twelve months.

political career when barely twenty-three, being given a "pocket borough" which belonged to a Tory of the most extreme type. Subsequently, as we have seen, after being for a short time a member of Peel's Conservative ministry, he had become a Peelite 46. when the Corn Laws were abolished. He then slowly developed into a Liberal, and the budget speeches which he made as chancellor of the exchequer, first in the coalition ministry of Lord Aberdeen and then in the Liberal ministry of Lord Palmerston, are still famous.

Disraeli was the grandson of an Italian Jew, and was not brought up at any school or university. Notorious in his early manhood for the length of his ringlets, the quantity of his rings, and the extravagant taste of his waistcoats¹, he tried four times to get into Parliament before he eventually in 1837 succeeded, and he was laughed down when he made his maiden speech in the House of Commons². His great chance for distinction had come over the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846. He was the brain of the protectionists under the leadership first of Lord George Bentinck and then of Lord Derby, and, though disliked and distrusted at first by some of his own party, who regarded him as a political adventurer, he had shown conspicuous capacity in the long periods of Conservative opposition between 1846 and 1866.

The great duel between Disraeli and Gladstone absorbed political interest for the next few years, the former being, by the irony of history, the leader of the great aristocratic party in the State, and the latter of the more advanced Liberals. Both men had the gift, at all events in their later years, of arousing the enthusiasm and devotion of their respective supporters, and also, it must be added, of provoking the lively distrust of their respective opponents. Both were men of exceptional ability, who shone in spheres outside politics. [Disraeli was a writer of romances, and perhaps the most successful of all writers of political novels. Gladstone's variety of tastes and interests was extraordinary, and made him an omnivorous reader, a productive writer, and the

¹ A lady who met him at a dinner party when he was a young man describes him as wearing a black velvet coat lined with satin, purple trousers with a gold band running down the outside seam, a scarlet waistcoat, and white gloves with several brilliant rings outside them!

² It was then that he made his famous remark: "I will sit down now, but the time will come when you will hear me".

best talker in London, so it was said, after Thomas Carlyle. Intense conviction, great courage, a noble voice and delivery, and a wonderful flow of language, combined to make Gladstone an orator who had few equals for the effect that he could produce on his hearers. Moreover, he was a statesman with almost superhuman powers of work and capacity for detail. Disraeli was a great coiner of telling phrases, and his speeches had an epigrammatic flavour which delighted his hearers, whilst he excelled in satire. He was a man of imagination, who could see further into the future than any of his party, and his predictions were often strikingly verified. "If men were attracted", wrote a distinguished historian, "to Gladstone by what he said, they were fascinated by an attempt to ascertain what Disraeli thought." The British people never quite understood Disraeli; he was the "mystery-man", as a bishop called him, of British politics, and this mysteriousness undoubtedly increased his power.

On Lord Derby's resignation at the beginning of 1868, Disraeli became prime minister. A general election was held in that year. Contrary to Disraeli's expectation, a great many of the new voters were on the Liberal side. Consequently the Liberals got a majority in the House of Commons, and before the end of the year Disraeli had resigned.

The new ministry, under the leadership of *Gladstone*, held office for just over five years (1868-1874). It included *Lowe* as chancellor of the exchequer—a brilliant but indis-

Disraeli's
ministry,
1868.

cret statesman who had been the leader of the Adullamites—and *Cardwell* as secretary for war. *Bright*, the leader of the advanced section, was at the board of trade, but he resigned in 1870. *Lord Clarendon* was foreign secretary till his death in 1870, when *Lord Granville*, who throughout led the Liberals in the House of Lords, succeeded him. Gladstone boasted with truth that this administration was not an idle one; indeed it made changes more important than any since that of Lord Grey in 1830. An Act was passed making education compulsory, and establishing school boards where necessary (p. 598). Religious tests were abolished for the holders of fellowships and scholarships at the universities of Oxford and Cambridge. Trade unions were legalized (p. 602). Under the

Gladstone's
first ministry,
1868-74.

Ballot Act, secret voting was established at the election of Ballot members of Parliament.

Meanwhile Cardwell revolutionized the system of the British army. The purchase of officers' commissions was abolished. The system of short service—eventually fixed at seven years with the colours, followed by five in the reserve—was established, which ensured that our army should be composed of young men, and that the country in time of need should have, considering the smallness of its ordinary army, a large reserve. Finally, the linked battalion method was adopted, under which one battalion of a regiment was abroad and the other, nominally of equal strength, was in Britain. Ireland, however, obtained by far the largest share of Gladstone's attention, the Irish Church Act and the first Land Act being passed at this time, whilst fresh disorders required new Coercion Acts (p. 647).

Cardwell's
army
reform.

Ireland.

"The accomplishment of reforms", it has been said, "invariably reduces the ranks of the reformers." The more timid thought such incessant legislative activity as Gladstone's Government displayed disturbing and wanted repose. The Government's bark frightened the more moderate, whilst its bite, partially muzzled as it was by the House of Lords and the old Whig contingent in the cabinet, was not severe enough to satisfy the more extreme elements in the Liberal party. In particular the Nonconformist section was displeased with the religious settlement in the Elementary Education Act. Minor proposals had again alienated popular sympathies.¹ The foreign policy of the Government, especially under Lord Granville, had been somewhat dilatory and unenterprising. Our mediation in the Franco-German war of 1870, our policy towards Russia when she repudiated the treaty which she had made after the Crimean War, and our negotiations with the United States of America over the "Alabama" claims had been, if discreet, decidedly unadventurous (pp. 667 and 669-70).

Government
becomes
unpopular.

The Conservatives had, in Disraeli, a leader who took full

¹ For instance, a proposed tax on matches had led to a protest and a procession from the match-workers of East London, who asserted that they would be thrown out of work, and a Licensing Bill of the Government, it was said, "would rob the poor man of his beer".

advantage of these elements of dissatisfaction. He said of Gladstone's Irish administration that "he legalized confiscation, consecrated sacrilege, and condoned high treason". He compared the occupants of the treasury bench (upon which members of the Government sat) to a "range of exhausted volcanoes", and epitomized their policy as one of "plundering and blundering". He exhorted the country to realize the greatness of its imperial destinies, and summed up the Conservative policy "as being the maintenance of our institutions, the preservation of our empire, and the improvement of the condition of the people".

In 1874 a cabinet disagreement induced Gladstone quite suddenly, and to the surprise even of some of his own colleagues

in the ministry, to dissolve Parliament. In the election which followed the Conservatives were triumphant.

Gladstone resigned, and Disraeli came into office with a majority of fifty over Liberals and Irish combined. For the first time since Peel's ministry of 1841 the Conservatives were really in power as well as in office. They had a majority large enough to prevent accidents in a division, but not large enough to encourage independence on the part of individual members. They had in *Disraeli*¹ a leader of great brilliance, and one who succeeded in obtaining the confidence of the Crown to a greater degree than any other prime minister except Lord Melbourne.² They possessed competent ministers in the House of Lords with *Lord Derby* (the son of the former Conservative prime minister) as foreign secretary and *Lord Salisbury* as secretary for India, and in the House of Commons with *Mr. Cross* as home secretary and *Sir Stafford Northcote* as chancellor of the exchequer.

Moreover, the opposition was weak and divided. Gladstone retired for the time into private life, to make occasional reappear-

ances that were somewhat embarrassing to the leader who succeeded him, *Lord Hartington*, afterwards *Duke of Devonshire*; and there were frequent disagreements between the Whigs, whom the latter represented, and the Radicals, amongst whom *Mr. Chamberlain* was the most

Disraeli's
ministry,
1874-80.

The Liberal
and Irish
opposition.

¹ In 1876 Disraeli became Earl of Beaconsfield and went to the House of Lords.

² Comparing his attitude towards Queen Victoria with Gladstone's, Disraeli once said, "Gladstone treats the queen like a public department; I treat her like a woman". The queen spoke of Disraeli, after his death, as her "dear, great friend".

forceful personality. The Conservatives, however, found great difficulty in the conduct of business in Parliament, owing to the obstructive tactics which were developed by the Irish party, and which necessitated new rules for the course of debate. The aim of the Irish was to concentrate attention on the Irish question and the demand for Home Rule by obstructing all business which was not of an Irish character, and incidentally, perhaps, to foster the feeling for Home Rule by combining with it a desire for the absence of the Irish members from the Imperial Parliament. An endless amount of time was scientifically wasted in discussions about nothing in particular, and one Irish member spoke no less than five hundred times in one session.¹

Nevertheless, despite obstructive tactics, the Conservative Government redeemed their pledges with regard to the improvement in the condition of the people by passing some useful laws affecting public health and factories, the legal position of trade unions, and the safety of sailors in merchant vessels, the transfer of land, and the construction of artisan dwellings, thus developing that course of legislation

Policy of
Disraeli's
Government.

to which reference has been made in the last chapter. But the chief interest of Disraeli's ministry arose from its conduct of foreign and imperial affairs. In Africa and in India events of importance took place. With 1876 public attention was absorbed by affairs in the near East. "*The Bulgarian atrocities*" perpetrated by the Turks, sufficiently horrible in themselves but magnified by the press, drew Gladstone from his retirement. The intervention of Russia led to a series of critical negotiations, which finally ended in the *Treaty of Berlin* in 1878, a treaty which, securing, as many thought, in Disraeli's phrase, "peace with honour", won much popular support (p. 671).

Two years after the Treaty of Berlin, in 1880, Lord Beaconsfield, having been in office for six and a half years, appealed to the country at a general election. He was decisively beaten, and retired from office. The causes of his defeat may be briefly summarized. If Glad-

Causes of
Beaconsfield's
fall, 1880.

¹ The tactics of the Irish party have been humorously summarized by a member of it as being:—1. To work in Government time. 2. To aid anybody to spend Government time. 3. Whenever you see a bill, block it. 4. Whenever you see a raw, rub it.

stone's imperial policy had been too supine, that of Beaconsfield had been too adventurous. Moreover, the Liberals were more scientifically organized in the constituencies, owing in a large degree to the energy of Mr. Chamberlain. Some bad harvests and the depression of trade told—as, most unreasonably, such things do—against the party that was in power. The “swing of the pendulum”, or, as Lord Salisbury once called it, “the great law of the pendulum”, was another element adverse to the Conservatives. But, above all else, Gladstone's re-entry into politics had filled the Liberals with enthusiasm. Though over seventy years of age, he showed most amazing energy in his famous campaigns, especially in his own constituency, Midlothian. Wherever he went, his personality commanded victory; and when the elections came, the Liberals had converted a minority of 50 into a majority over the Conservatives of 166 if the Irish Nationalist members were included in it, and into a majority of 106 if they were not.

On Lord Beaconsfield's resignation, the queen sent for Lord Hartington, nominally the Liberal leader, to form a ministry; but it was clear that no one but Gladstone could now lead the party. Lord Hartington accordingly refused to become prime minister, and Gladstone was summoned, and formed his *second* administration. During the next five years a succession of difficult crises arose, of which Gladstone's ministry had to attempt a solution. Ireland, as usual, occupied a large share of the public attention. The obstructive tactics of Parnell—the Irish Nationalist leader—and his followers necessitated fresh rules of procedure in the House of Commons; the agrarian outrages required new measures of coercion; and then followed, in 1882, the tragic murder of Lord Frederick Cavendish (p. 648). In South Africa, a peace which gave the Boers local independence under our nominal suzerainty was made soon after the British disaster at Majuba (1880). In West Africa, the “grab” for territory, initiated by Germany, began in 1884. In Egypt, the absence of any definite policy led first to the bombardment of Alexandria in 1882, and then to the death of Gordon at Khartoum in 1885. In India, the dangerous movements of the Russians against Afghanistan almost

Gladstone's
second ministry,
1880-5, and its
difficulties.

brought about a war in 1884. In the midst of all these difficulties the legislative output of the Government was not considerable. Gladstone, however, passed in 1881 a second *Irish Land Bill* of enormous complexity; and, through an understanding with the opposition, brought about by the Queen, passed the *Reform Bill* of 1884, which gave the vote to the agricultural and unskilled labourers and rearranged the constituencies.

During these troublous years Gladstone's own cabinet was not harmonious. In ability the ministry was strong. The *Duke of Argyll* and *Lord Spencer*, both able men, belonged to it. *Lord Hartington* was at the India Office, and *Lord Granville* at the Foreign Office. The more advanced sections in the party were represented by *John Bright* and *Mr. Chamberlain*. The Speaker, however, expressed the opinion that it would be a difficult team to drive, and so it proved. The old Whigs and the new Radicals contained elements too diverse for a satisfactory combination. The former, like political boa constrictors, as someone said of Lord Hartington, had to swallow instalment after instalment of the diet provided by the latter, a process which soon led to the retirement of the Duke of Argyll. This was not the only resignation; disagreements about Irish coercion led to that of Forster, the Irish secretary, and about Egyptian affairs, to that of Bright. Threats of such a course were plentiful; it is said, indeed, that within a period of one month nine of the cabinet, for one reason or another, contemplated resignation. Moreover, though the official opposition, under Sir Stafford Northcote (Lord Beaconsfield died in 1881), was somewhat feeble in its criticism, a small group of four independent Conservatives, calling themselves the "Fourth Party",¹ of whom Lord Randolph Churchill and Mr. Balfour afterwards became the most famous, made pungent and unceasing attacks upon the policy pursued by the Government.

Finally, in 1885, Gladstone was beaten on a small point in the House of Commons, and resigned. He was succeeded by the *Marquis of Salisbury*, who had served in Disraeli's Government, first as secretary of state for India, and then, on Lord Derby's resignation in 1878, as foreign secretary. He was in

¹ The Irish party was the third party.

power, however, for only a short time, as, in the general election which ensued in 1886, Gladstone was again successful, and returned to office. But Ireland was to be Gladstone's undoing. He had gradually come to the conviction that the only solution of the Irish question lay in allowing the Irish to have *Home Rule*—a Parliament of their own, subject, in such matters as customs duties, the army and navy, and foreign policy, to the Imperial supremacy. His opponents maintained that his final decision in favour of this policy was due to the fact that a combination of the Conservative and the Irish members in the new House of Commons exactly balanced the Liberal members, and that therefore, without Irish support, his position was extremely precarious. But, whatever his motives, he produced the Home Rule Bill, with a result that was disastrous to his own party. Many of his chief supporters deserted him, including Lord Hartington, Mr. Chamberlain, and Mr. Bright. Opponents of the bill feared that under the bill the Protestant and progressive minority that lived in the north of Ireland would be sacrificed to the Roman Catholics, and that Home Rule for Ireland was but a stepping-stone to complete separation. As a consequence the bill was thrown out in the House of Commons, amidst great excitement, by a majority of 30 votes. Gladstone, on appealing to the country, was beaten, and Lord Salisbury returned to office.

Lord Salisbury,
1885-6;
Gladstone, 1886,
and the Home
Rule Bill.

2. 1886-1911, Recent Affairs

The last period in our review of domestic politics is from 1886 to 1911. The events and personalities of these twenty-five years are too near for historical judgments upon them to be crystallized; and the briefest summary of the facts must suffice.

First of all, a word must be said as to the fortunes of parties. The Home Rule movement shattered for a time the Liberal party.

It is true that they returned to power in 1892. Mr. Gladstone had continued to lead the party, and formed his fourth administration in that year. But he retired from office in 1894, soon after the House of Lords

The disruption of
the Liberal party;
Liberals in power,
1892-5.

had thrown out his second Home Rule Bill. Lord Rosebery became prime minister, but resigned office, after a defeat in the House of Commons, in 1895. Dissensions in the party subsequently led to the retirement of Lord Rosebery from the leadership, and Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman succeeded. The South African War of 1899 still further increased the disagreements of the party; and not till the war was over did a revival of Liberal fortunes take place.

Meantime, the opponents of Home Rule—who called themselves Unionists—consisted of three elements: there were the Conservatives under Lord Salisbury, the Whigs under Lord Hartington (who became Duke of Devonshire in 1891), and a Radical section under Mr. Chamberlain, the last two elements calling themselves Liberal-Unionists. At first there was only an informal co-operation between Conservatives and Liberal-Unionists, and the latter refused to join the former in office. Consequently *Lord Salisbury's administration* of 1886 was, at its formation, purely Conservative; it included Lord Randolph Churchill and Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, Mr. W. H. Smith and Mr. Balfour. Lord Randolph Churchill, the chancellor of the exchequer and leader of the House of Commons, who had an immense hold upon the country, in consequence of the vigour of his oratory and his ideals of social reform, suddenly resigned, in 1887, because he disapproved of the additional expenditure proposed for the army and navy. His place as chancellor of the exchequer was taken by Mr. Goschen, a Liberal-Unionist of great ability, whilst Mr. W. H. Smith became leader of the house. On Mr. Smith's death, in 1891, Mr. Balfour, who had achieved a great reputation in consequence of his pacification of Ireland, succeeded him.

Lord Salisbury remained in office till 1892, and was then succeeded, as we have seen, by Mr. Gladstone. But he became prime minister for the third time in 1895. The alliance of the Unionist elements now became a coalition. A strong administration was formed which included Mr. Balfour and Sir M. Hicks-Beach, the Duke of Devonshire and Lord Lansdowne, Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Goschen. On Lord Salisbury's retirement in 1902 (followed by

Development of
Unionist party.

Lord Salisbury,
1886-92.

Lord Salisbury,
1895-1902; Mr.
Balfour, 1902-5.

that of Mr. Goschen and Sir M. Hicks-Beach), *Mr. Balfour*, Lord Salisbury's nephew, became prime minister. Very shortly afterwards, in 1903, *Mr. Chamberlain* proposed a policy of *Tariff Reform*, with the object, at one and the same time, of encouraging home manufactures and of drawing our Imperial ties closer through a system of preferential tariffs with the colonies. These proposals broke up the Unionist party; Mr. Chamberlain left office in order to advocate his policy with greater freedom, whilst the Duke of Devonshire and others resigned because Mr. Balfour sympathized with that policy. The dissensions in the Unionist ranks combined with other causes to lead to an overwhelming victory for the Liberals in 1906, and the long Unionist rule came to an end.

Of the later history it is too early to say anything at all. *Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman* formed a Liberal administration, and on his resignation, shortly before his death, in 1908, *Mr. Asquith* succeeded as prime minister. The most significant feature of the new Parliament of 1906 lay perhaps in the appearance of the new Labour group of some fifty members. The Irish Home Rule party already formed one section of some eighty members independent of the two great parties in the State, and the growth of another may lead to important developments in our party system. It is possible, therefore, for this as well as for other reasons, that the year 1906 may form the beginning of a new era in the history of our politics. The period since 1906 has been one of considerable legislative activity. But the House of Lords rejected some of the chief Liberal measures, and finally rejected the Budget at the close of 1909. Mr. Asquith at once dissolved Parliament and a fresh election was held, with the result that the Liberals remained in power, but with a majority of only two over the Unionists. The support, however, of the Irish and Labour parties gave them a majority of 120, which enabled them to re-pass the Budget in the House of Commons, and it was then accepted by the House of Lords. Mr. Asquith brought forward at the same time proposals for curtailing the powers of the House of Lords, but the death of King Edward VII in May, 1910, led to a truce between the political parties, and to an attempt at effect-

ing a compromise as to the constitution and powers of the House of Lords in future.

A long series of conferences between the leaders of the two parties failed, however, to produce a settlement. Mr. Asquith then dissolved Parliament again, and appealed to the constituencies to support his proposals with regard to the House of Lords. The result of the General

The Parliament Act of 1911.

Election, held in December, 1910, was that the Coalition, composed of the Liberal, the Irish Nationalist, and the Labour parties, had almost identically the same majority in the House of Commons as in the previous Parliament. The *Parliament Bill*—as the Bill containing Mr. Asquith's proposals was called—was accordingly passed through the House of Commons. The House of Lords, then, made considerable amendments, which the House of Commons refused to accept. The king, however, on the advice of his ministers, agreed to create a sufficient number of peers to force the Bill, if necessary, in its original form through the House of Lords. As a consequence, Lord Lansdowne, the leader of the Opposition, and the bulk of his followers abstained from voting when it became clear that insistence on the amendments would lead to an enormous creation of peers; and though a considerable number of Unionist peers refused to follow their leader's example, the Bill was finally passed by a majority of 17. Under the terms of the Parliament Act, the House of Lords is deprived of the power it formerly held of rejecting a Money Bill; and if any other Bill is passed by the House of Commons in three successive sessions, and is rejected by the House of Lords in each of these sessions, it becomes law, notwithstanding its rejection for the third time by the House of Lords, so long as a period of two years has elapsed since the second reading of the Bill in the House of Commons in the first of these sessions.

Of other features of the twenty-five years since 1886 something may be said. First, there has been a growth in the respect for the authority of the Crown. This was due partly to the affection inspired for the queen, especially after the Jubilee of 1887, and the Diamond Jubilee of 1897, when her long reign was celebrated with great enthusiasm, and partly to the

Influence of Crown.

confidence fostered by the shrewdness and tact of her successor; and partly again to the increased knowledge of the Victorian era through the publication of letters and biographies which revealed the part played by the Crown in our national affairs—a much greater part than was popularly supposed. Along with that has come an increased feeling of pride in, and of responsibility for the Empire, combined with much more enlightened notions as to its value—due to a variety of causes which are dealt with elsewhere (p. 673). As a consequence, foreign and imperial affairs absorbed much attention during this period, especially during the South African War of 1899-1903. Lastly, there has been, during these twenty-five years, and especially in the latter portion of them, a good deal of unrest amongst the manual workers of the country. The relations between Capital and Labour have been uneasy, and have led to frequent strikes and still more frequent threats of them. The Board of Trade has often intervened with success in settling the differences between the employers and their workmen, and it seems not improbable that the Government in the near future may be given fuller powers in order to prevent, if possible, these disastrous Industrial Wars.

Apart from Ireland and the passions engendered by the Home Rule question, which led to a free fight in the House of Commons during the debate on the second Home Rule Bill in 1893, politics for the greater part of this period were not very exciting. Solid progress was, however, made, and the legislation, as has been explained in the last chapter, partook of a paternal character, enlarging as it did the sphere of State interference in many directions. Constitutionally, the most important developments took place in local government. Ever since the Tudors, the local administration had been in the hands of the Justices of the Peace, who were appointed by the Lord-lieutenant of each county, and who were usually selected from the local gentry. To the Justices of the Peace are still left petty criminal business and the licensing of public-houses and inns; but by a succession of laws passed between 1888 and 1894 the control of such matters as highways and bridges, housing and public health, was handed over to popularly elected County, District, and Parish Councils,

Development
of local
government.

subject to the supervision of the central authority, the Local Government Board. The tendency of later legislation has been to increase the functions of County Councils; the superintendence of education has, for instance, been handed over to them, and it is not improbable that in the near future the maintenance of the poor may also fall to their care. With these changes, the transformation of the government of Britain into a democracy may be said to be almost completed, though the sovereignty of the democracy is still somewhat modified through the checks imposed by the existence of the Crown and the House of Lords.

XLVII. History of Ireland since 1815

Ireland, it will be seen from this brief review, had a large share in the party politics of the nineteenth century. The Catholic Emancipation question almost broke up the Tory party in 1829, and the Irish famine, the immediate cause of the repeal of the Corn Laws, completely broke it up in 1846. Differences in the cabinet about the Irish question led to the retirement of Lord Grey in 1834, and to the wrecking of the Liberal party in 1886. Politics at times, as Lord Salisbury once said, have meant Ireland and nothing else. The energies of British statesmen have been absorbed in endeavours to find solutions for Irish grievances, or in devising Acts—of which over sixty were passed between 1800 and 1885—for dealing with Irish disorders.

*Influence of
Ireland upon
party politics.*

For thirty years after the battle of Waterloo *Daniel O'Connell* is the great figure in Irish history. He was a Roman Catholic, and made a great reputation, in his early days, as a criminal lawyer. Subsequently he took up Irish politics, and became the undisputed leader of the Irish people. As an orator to a mass meeting he was unsurpassed; he could, it was said, convulse an audience with laughter, move it to tears, or rouse it to the most passionate excitement. A humorous, good-natured, hospitable man, he had many elements of nobility, if also of weakness, in his character. His influence

Daniel O'Connell.

was nearly always used in favour of constitutional agitation and against agrarian outrages, and still more against armed rebellion, whilst his loyalty to the Crown was unshaken, and, in Queen Victoria's reign, even enthusiastic.

It may be remembered that Roman Catholics in 1815 were still excluded from sitting in Parliament and from holding various offices. O'Connell's first efforts were directed

The Catholic Association, 1823-9.

to getting these disabilities removed. In 1823 he formed, in alliance with the Irish priests, a *Catholic Association*, which had branches in nearly every parish, and to the expenses of which the great mass of Catholics contributed. Through this association the Catholics in Ireland were organized. They began to vote only for Protestants who were in favour of emancipation. Meetings took place all over the country, and on one day in 1828 no fewer than two hundred were held. Finally O'Connell, though a Catholic, stood for County Clare as a candidate for Parliament, and won such enthusiastic support that he was elected without opposition. Of course he could not take his seat, but he announced his intention of standing for every constituency where a vacancy occurred. The excitement increased, and Ireland seemed to be on the verge of revolution. Wellington's Tory ministry felt that they must yield, and the Catholic Emancipation Bill was at last passed in 1829. O'Connell consequently entered Parliament, and took a prominent part in the debates preceding the Reform Bill of 1832.

Disraeli, in his early days, once summed up the Irish problem as being that of "a starving people, an alien Church, and an

The tithe war, 1833-5. absentee aristocracy". The alien Church was the

next subject attacked by O'Connell after the Reform Bill had been passed. The great mass of the population in Ireland was Catholic; yet the Protestant Church was the established one, and Catholic peasants had to pay tithes for its support. A war was waged against the tithes. Tithe collectors and even tithe payers were attacked and sometimes murdered. A stringent Coercion Act¹ was passed by the Whig Government in

¹ A Coercion Act may be defined as a statute which applies only to some specified portion of the British Isles, and which suspends ordinary constitutional liberties, arming the police with powers unknown to the ordinary law.

1833, one cause of which forbade people to be out-of-doors in disturbed districts between sunset and sunrise. The disorders, however, still continued. But when *Lord Melbourne* came into office in 1835 a sudden calm occurred. A tacit understanding was arrived at, and O'Connell supported the Government. The ministry, in return, ruled Ireland in a sympathetic spirit, largely through the efforts of Drummond, the under-secretary, whilst O'Connell's influence was seen in regard to the policy pursued and the bestowal of patronage. A law was passed by which tithes were to be paid by the landlord and not by the tenant; and the immediate grievance felt by the peasant was thus met. Irish municipal government was reformed, and an Irish Poor Law system introduced.

With the advent of *Peel* into power, in 1841, O'Connell was again in active opposition. He had previously advocated the Repeal of the Union of 1800, and he now threw his whole energies into an agitation to secure the independence of Ireland. The rule of a government directly dependent upon an Irish Parliament, instead of the rule of a viceroy and a chief secretary dependent upon a British cabinet and a British Parliament, has been, since that time, the chief demand of the Irish party. O'Connell addressed monster meetings all over Ireland—it is estimated that there were at least a quarter of a million persons present at one held on the Hill of Tara.¹ The agitation was assuming formidable dimensions—when suddenly Peel struck. Arrangements had been made for O'Connell to address what was designed to be the most gigantic of all meetings. The day before that fixed for the meeting, Peel forbade it by proclamation, after having made elaborate preparations to enforce the prohibition if necessary. O'Connell yielded and countermanded the meeting. Then Peel prosecuted O'Connell for his seditious speeches, and obtained his conviction and imprisonment (1843). Though the judges in the House of Lords subsequently declared the sentence an unjust one, O'Connell's power was broken. He lost touch with the more extreme element,

O'Connell's
Repeal
agitation,
1841-3.

¹ No disorder ever occurred at any of these meetings, except that on one occasion the retiring crowd trampled down the stall of an old woman who sold ginger-bread. The meetings generally terminated with enthusiastic cheers for the queen.

known as the "Young Ireland" party, for having yielded to Peel, and died, a broken man, in 1847.

But meanwhile, before O'Connell died, the *famine of 1846* (p. 622) had come upon a "starving people". The holdings in

Ireland were minutely subdivided, and the means of subsistence were at all times but a bare sufficiency.

The failure of the potato left the great mass of the population face to face with starvation.¹ The result on the Corn Laws and on British politics has already been explained. In Ireland itself it had three results. First, a great shrinkage of the population occurred, due partly to the deaths from starvation, and partly to the emigration to America, which has been constant ever since that time. The population of Ireland, which was eight millions in 1841, was only four millions in 1901. Secondly, the Government passed an *Encumbered Estates Act*, by which land might be more easily sold, hoping thus to force impoverished landowners to sell their land, and to encourage peasants to buy it. But the consequence was that in many parts of Ireland a new class of landlords arose, who bought the land and then evicted the small tenants, converting their holdings into pasture farms.² This policy of "clearances", as it was called, was not entirely confined to new purchasers; but, as many of the old holdings were much too small, and pasture paid much better than arable, there is some little justification for this action of the landlords.

Thirdly, the famine and the consequent evictions led to fresh outrages in Ireland, to the passing, therefore, of fresh coercion bills, and finally, in 1848—the year of revolutions—to an armed insurrection under a leader called Smith O'Brien, an insurrection which came to an ignominious end through the defeat of its leaders in a cabbage garden. Eleven years later, in 1859, the extremists started, in order to enforce Irish independence, the Fenian Society, a seditious organization, which had for its object the establishment of an Irish republic.³

¹ The corn crop, however, did not fail in Ireland, but much of the wheat was exported. It was this that made the Irish so angry, as they felt that the Government ought, in consequence of the famine, to have prohibited the export of corn. The Irish parliament had done this on more than one occasion in the eighteenth century.

² No less than one-sixth of the land of Ireland was sold under this Act, which was a heavy blow to the old Irish gentry.

³ The years during which the Fenian Society was most active were between 1863 and 1867.

A new stage was reached in the Irish problem when Gladstone came into office in 1869. His first act was the *disestablishment of the Irish Church*; its connection with the State was severed, and some of its endowments were devoted to secular purposes, though the re-organized Protestant Church kept the greater part. His second measure was an attempt to deal with the land question. The land system in Ireland was quite different from that in England. In Ireland, the landlords were often absentees. The tenants and not the landlords were responsible for the buildings and the gates, and, as a rule, made the improvements. Yet, despite this, the great mass of the tenants—except in Ulster—were merely tenants-at-will, who could be expelled at any time, and they did not receive any compensation for their improvements; on the contrary, it occasionally happened that their rents were raised as a consequence. The *Land Act* of 1870 tried to remedy this state of affairs by making the landlord pay compensation both to outgoing tenants who had made improvements increasing the value of the farm, and to those who were evicted from their holdings for causes other than the non-payment of rent or the refusal of reasonable conditions of tenure.

Disestablishment of Irish Church, 1869, and First Land Act, 1870.

Yet still the Irish remained unsatisfied, and Gladstone had to pass another Coercion Bill to preserve order. During the rule of his successor, Disraeli, a new personality appeared in Irish politics. In 1879 *Parnell* became the leader of the Irish party. His mother was an American, and his father an Irish Protestant squire. Educated in England, he went into Irish politics, and entered Parliament in 1875. A hater of England, he became, by his abilities and the force of his will, the despotic ruler of the excitable Irish party, though he himself was of a silent disposition, and held aloof from his followers. His policy may be briefly explained. From the Irish in America he collected, by periodical visits, funds to support his party. In Parliament, his object, as has been stated, was to force the new

In 1866 one thousand two hundred armed Fenians from the United States invaded Canada, but were quickly repulsed. A year later the Fenians designed to capture the fort at Chester, but the plan was discovered. An attempt to release some Fenian prisoners led to a policeman being murdered at Manchester. In connection with this three Fenians were hanged, and were known in Ireland as "the Manchester martyrs" (1867).

policy of Home Rule, or, in other words, the old policy of Repeal, upon the attention of British electors by obstructing all business which was not connected with Ireland. In Ireland he made an alliance with the *Land League*. This league had been started in 1871 to agitate for further reforms in the land system. It used all forms of intimidation, including the new weapon of the *Boycott*—the refusal to work for, or supply anything to, anyone who opposed the policy of the league or who took the farms of evicted tenants.¹

Gladstone's ministry of 1880-5 had to meet the full force of the new Irish leader and his tactics. A second *Land Act*, introduced by Gladstone, was passed in 1881. By this Act the landlords were converted into mere rent receivers; Land Courts were created to settle the rents that were to be paid, whilst tenants were given fixity of tenure, and could not, as long as they observed certain conditions, be removed. Even this Act did not satisfy the Irish. Refusals to pay rent were accompanied by violence and intimidation, and Gladstone was forced to pass a most stringent Coercion Act, and finally to imprison Parnell and other chiefs of the party. And then, just after Parnell had arrived at an understanding with Gladstone, and had been released, occurred the horrible assassination, in the Phoenix Park, of Lord Frederick Cavendish, who had recently been appointed the Irish secretary (1882). Moreover, various dynamite outrages were perpetrated, and fresh Coercion Acts were the result.

In 1886 Gladstone himself, as has been related, became a supporter of Home Rule. The effects of his conversion upon

the Liberal party have been already described, and of the later history of Ireland the time has not yet come to say anything. The Unionist Governments of 1886 to 1892 and 1895 to 1905 by firm administration succeeded—despite occasional outbreaks—in restoring order in Ireland. They were aided by the fact that the Irish party became hopelessly divided in 1890, when a divorce suit in

The Land Act of 1881, and the Phoenix Park murder, 1882.

Home Rule and Irish legislation, 1886-1909.

¹ The first victim of this policy was a Captain Boycott—hence the name. Parnell summarized the policy to be pursued by saying that if a tenant took a farm from which someone else had been evicted, he was "to be isolated from his kind as if he were a leper of old".

which Parnell was implicated led to more than half his followers renouncing his leadership; though of late years the party has been again reunited under Mr. Redmond.¹ Meantime many reforms were passed. Railways were encouraged. Popular local government was introduced in 1898. Above all, the purchase by tenants of their holdings, already encouraged by the State, was enormously facilitated by an Act passed in 1903, under which the State may advance money to tenants and give a bonus to the landlord for selling his property, and by another, passed in 1909, by which the sale of the land was, under certain conditions, made compulsory. The process of converting the Irish tenant into an Irish proprietor is not yet complete; but the end is perhaps not far off. Home Rule still remains the objective of the Irish party; and the proposals of the Liberal Government in 1907 to extend the control of the Irish over their own affairs were rejected by the Irish party as an inadequate substitute for the complete self-government which they demand.

XLVIII. Great Britain and Europe, 1815-78

The relations of Great Britain since 1815 with other European States must form the subject of our next chapter. The large share that Great Britain had taken in the overthrow of Napoleon and in the subsequent negotiations at the *Congress of Vienna* (p. 560) had given her a foremost position amongst European powers, and for over fifty years—from 1815 till the Treaty of Berlin in 1878—the attention of British foreign secretaries was absorbed in various crises that arose on the Continent of Europe. In order, therefore, that British policy may be understood, it is necessary briefly to explain the main lines of European political development up till 1878.

¹ In the Parliaments of 1910 and 1911, however, Mr. W. O'Brien led a party hostile to Mr. Redmond.

There have been two movements of supreme importance in the nineteenth century. *First*, there has been a movement for *Self-governing and National movements in Europe.* *Self-government.* The rulers of many of the States of Europe after 1815 were reactionary and despotic, and hated and distrusted all Liberal aspirations, which they labelled as dangerous and anarchical. In many parts of Europe liberty, as we in Great Britain understand it, was unknown; there was no liberty of speech or of writing; public meetings were forbidden, arbitrary arrests frequent, and Parliaments—where they existed—powerless. The growing desire felt by the people for greater individual freedom and for a greater control of the government led at various times, and especially during the years 1830-2 and 1848-52, to agitations and revolutions, which were sometimes suppressed and sometimes successful. Closely allied with the movement for self-government there has been, *secondly*, a movement for the realization of the idea of *Nationality*. People of the same race or speaking the same language, possessing common traditions or a common history, have shown a passion to be united and to be freed from the control of alien rulers, a passion which led to the independence of Belgium in 1830, to the War of Italian Liberation in 1859, and to the final union of Germany under the leadership of Prussia in 1871.

It was this idea of nationality as well as the oppressiveness of the Turkish Government which caused the frequent revolts of *The Eastern Question.* Christians in south-eastern Europe against the Sultan of Turkey, revolts leading to the independence of Greece in 1829, and to the practical independence of the various Balkan States as a result of the Treaty of Berlin in 1878. These revolts are connected with the *third* great subject that has occupied since 1815 the attention of European statesmen, the *Eastern Question* as it is called, due to the slow dissolution of the Turkish Empire and the conflicting interests of European nations which resulted.

What was the attitude of Great Britain on these subjects? Both persecuted Liberals and oppressed Nationalities looked to her for sympathy and advice, for mediation, and at times even for armed assistance. The people of Great Britain gave their

sympathy, and individual Englishmen expended their money and risked their lives in supporting the twin causes of liberty and nationality. The Government of Great Britain was prolific in advice, and not infrequently very valuable advice; and it sometimes attempted, with success, to combine with other powers in mediating between the combatants. But since 1815 a desire for peace and a horror of European entanglements which might lead to war have been the chief characteristics of British statesmen—with the important exception of Lord Palmerston; the policy of the British Government has been therefore on the whole pacific, and it has shrunk, wherever possible, from armed assistance.

Attitude of
Great Britain,
1815-78.

On the Eastern Question British opinion has been divided, and not always consistent. British sympathies on behalf of the oppressed Christians have been counterbalanced by a very lively distrust of Russian political designs in the Balkan peninsula. It was thought that Russia supported these Christians—of whom, as they belonged to the Greek Church, the czar regarded himself as the natural protector—chiefly in order to attain what was supposed to be the great object of her policy, the acquisition of Constantinople, and with it the control of the Eastern Mediterranean and a road to India. Moreover, the courage of the Turk in warfare has aroused the admiration of the British race, and has encouraged a belief in the prospective regeneration of the Turks and a hopefulness in the future of their rule.

1. A Period of Comparative Peace, 1815-54

We must now turn to the details of the history. *Alexander I*, the Czar of Russia (died 1825), who combined great piety and feelings of universal benevolence with strong ideas of the divine right of monarchs, and *Metternich*, a cynical statesman, who controlled the policy of Austria till 1848, were the chief personalities in European politics after 1815. Metternich regarded all constitutional movements—all agitations having for their object the greater control of the government by the people—with hostility, and tried to persuade

Coercive Policy
of Czar and
Metternich,
1815-23.

their cause being championed by British sympathizers. Amongst others, Lord Cochrane¹ and Sir Richard Church—the one on sea and the other on land—rendered great services; whilst Lord Byron, the poet, died fighting with the Greek forces. The British Government, however, was faced with a difficult situation. It was not unsympathetic towards the Greeks, but it was very fearful of Russian interference lest a general dissolution of the Turkish Empire should be the result. Eventually, in 1827, after the war had been in progress for some years, and the sultan had called in the assistance of Mehemet Ali, the formidable ruler of Egypt, Canning was successful in persuading Russia and France to agree with Great Britain in suggesting terms. The Greeks were to have self-government under Turkish suzerainty; and meanwhile an armistice was to be imposed upon the combatants whilst negotiations with this object were in progress.

A combined fleet of the allies, under Sir E. Codrington, had orders to enforce the armistice, and was sent to watch the Turco-Egyptian fleet, which was lying in the *Bay of Navarino*.

Battle of
Navarino,
1827.

As the admiral of the Turco-Egyptian fleet proved unwilling to observe the armistice, Codrington decided to make a demonstration, and sailed into the bay. Some shots fired by a Turkish ship led to a general engagement, and in a short time the bay was covered with the wreckage of Turkish and Egyptian ships (October, 1827).² The battle of Navarino, by destroying the sultan's fleet, secured Greek independence. But before it was fought, Canning was dead, and the *Duke of Wellington*, who became prime minister at the beginning of 1828, and who had regarded Canning's policy with distrust, looked upon the battle as an "untoward event",³ and was opposed to any further measures of coercion against Turkey. Consequently

¹ Cochrane had already won great renown for his brilliant exploits in fighting the Spaniards on behalf of the independence of Chili, and the Portuguese on behalf of that of Brazil. In 1827 he was made admiral of the Greek fleet; but he met with little success—the Greek seamen, in his opinion, "were collectively the greatest cowards" he had ever met with.

² It is said that the Duke of Clarence (afterwards William IV), who was then lord high admiral, wrote privately to Codrington before the battle, "Go in, my dear Ned, and smash these — Turks"; but there is no trace of such a letter, and it is unlikely that the duke, who was somewhat long-winded, would have expressed himself in words of one syllable. There is a tradition in the French service that the French sailors, when opportunity offered, fired during the battle into the Russian ships, to avenge the retreat from Moscow.

³ It was called this in the "king's speech" at the opening of a new session of parliament.

Russia continued operations against Turkey single-handed, and eventually by a treaty in 1829, which was modified three years later, the independence of Greece was recognized by Turkey and by the great powers of Europe, whilst Russia acquired some increase of territory in Asia.

The year 1830 is an important one in the history of our foreign policy. In the first place, a series of revolutions and insurrections occurred. The series began during The Revolutions of 1830. July in France, where *Charles X*, a despotic and reactionary king, who had succeeded Louis XVIII in 1824, was overthrown, and his cousin, *Louis Philippe*, who professed popular principles, was put on the throne. From France the movement spread to Belgium, to Italy, and to various parts of Germany, whilst the Poles revolted against Russia.

In the second place, *Lord Palmerston* became our foreign secretary in 1830. For the next thirty-five years—until his death in 1865—Palmerston was, either as foreign secre- Lord Palmerston's foreign policy. tary or as prime minister, the dominating personality in our foreign politics. The only intervals were from 1841-6 when he was out of office, from 1852-5 when he was home secretary, and during three other much shorter intervals of a few months each. A few words must be said as to the general principles of Lord Palmerston's policy. First, he was determined to maintain and to extend the influence of Great Britain, and to uphold her honour; and it was the feeling that this was the underlying purpose of his policy which caused his enormous popularity in his own country. Secondly, he wanted, as he said, "to get the affairs of Europe into trim", and he was in sympathy with all movements having for their object the establishment of independent nationalities or of constitutional governments similar to that of Great Britain. Thirdly, with regard to the Eastern Question he was a strong upholder of the integrity of the Turkish dominions, and believed, as he said in 1838, that given ten years of peace, Turkey would develop into a "respectable power", whilst he was highly suspicious as to Russian designs upon that country.

Lord Palmerston's diplomatic methods were decidedly unconventional: the "Palmerstonian style", as it was called, was bluff and

somewhat boisterous and truculent, and was perhaps too careless of other nations' susceptibilities. But his activity was incessant. His advice, asked or unasked, was freely tendered to all foreign nations, and sometimes provoked no little irritation; whilst his sympathy with popular and nationalist agitations led to his being regarded as a firebrand by European rulers, and even at one time by Queen Victoria and the Prince Consort. Lord Palmerston was said to have had a genius for "fluking" at billiards, of which game he was very fond, and his opponents maintained that this was characteristic of his statesmanship as well; but, whether lucky or not, there is no doubt that Palmerston generally got his own way, and was very successful, at all events, from 1830-41 during his first tenure of the Foreign Office.

The earliest opportunity for the display of Palmerston's statesmanship arose in regard to affairs in the *Netherlands*. Belgium had been joined to Holland by the treaty of 1815, Palmerston's policy, 1830-41; Belgium, 1830. but in 1830 the Belgians rose for their independence and demanded separation. The danger lay in the fact that the Belgians could rely on the sympathy of France, and that Belgium might become, though in theory independent, in practice a French province; and hence Great Britain might be again exposed to the danger against which she had struggled so persistently in the eighteenth century. Palmerston, seeing the impossibility of preserving the union of Belgium and Holland, frankly acknowledged the independence of Belgium, and finally, in conjunction with France, forced the Dutch to cease from resisting it; but he took care that Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, and not a member of the house of Bourbon, should be made king, and that France herself should obtain no territorial extension, not even, in his own words, "a cabbage garden or a vineyard". The choice of Leopold proved a notable success. He was a person of great sagacity and governed well; whilst, as son-in-law of Louis Philippe and uncle of Queen Victoria, he was able to play a considerable part in European politics.

The affairs of *Portugal and Spain* next occupied Palmerston's attention; in each of these countries a young queen, Spain and Portugal. supported by a party of moderate reform, was opposed to an absolutist uncle, *Dom Miguel* in the one case and *Don*

Carlos in the other, supported by the reactionary parties. Palmerston supported the cause of the queens. He lent to the Queen of Portugal's party a seaman, Admiral Napier, who won in 1833, off Cape St. Vincent, a brilliant victory that secured the retirement of Dom Miguel; and he allowed a British legion of volunteers to go to Spain, where, however, the struggle was more protracted, and not till 1840 was Don Carlos finally evicted.

In regard to Belgium and Portugal, Palmerston had acted in alliance with France. But the combination was, in the Duke of Wellington's words, a "cardboard alliance", and fresh difficulties which arose over the Eastern Question brought the two countries to the verge of war. *Mehemet Ali*, an Albanian, who had made himself master of Egypt, had taken up arms against the suzerain, the Sultan of Turkey, and occupied Syria in 1833. Some years later, in 1839, the sultan tried to recover Syria, but his army was defeated, and Mehemet Ali was in a position to march upon Constantinople. Palmerston, true to his policy of maintaining the Turkish Empire, supported the sultan, but Louis Philippe, anxious to win the favour of Mehemet Ali and to extend and develop the influence of France in Egypt, refused to co-operate with Great Britain. Consequently Palmerston turned to Russia, and Great Britain, Russia, Austria, and Prussia formed an alliance to prevent the further progress of Mehemet Ali. Acre was bombarded and taken; Mehemet Ali was driven back, and had to agree to an arrangement by which he was deprived of Syria (1840). But the French people were furious at the matter being settled without their country being consulted. Louis Philippe talked of "unmuzzling the tiger of war", and surrounded Paris with forts, and war was narrowly averted.¹

Just at this time, however, Lord Melbourne's government was defeated, and Peel came into power (1841). Lord Palmerston accordingly retired from the Foreign Office. *Lord Aberdeen*, his successor, and *Guizot*, who became foreign secretary in France, were both pacifically inclined, and

Mehemet Ali
and Syria.

Lord Aberdeen's
policy, 1841-6.

¹ Palmerston wrote to the British agent in Paris instructing him to convey to the French minister "in the most friendly and inoffensive manner possible, that if France throws down the gauntlet we shall not refuse to pick it up, and that Mehemet Ali will just be chucked into the Nile".

good feeling between the two countries was gradually restored during the next five years. To Lord Aberdeen's credit must also be put an agreement with the United States which settled a difficult and thorny boundary question on the west coast of America, though the agreement was very distasteful to Canada (p. 701).

Lord Palmerston returned to the Foreign Office in 1846, and almost immediately the good understanding with France came to an end over the *Spanish marriages question*. Into the details of this complicated affair we cannot enter. It is sufficient to say that the Queen of Spain and her sister were both unmarried, and that the Courts of Europe busied themselves in discussing what husbands should be provided for them. Great Britain objected to the Queen of Spain marrying a son of Louis Philippe, and France to her marrying a relation of Queen Victoria's. Eventually Louis Philippe threw over an informal agreement he had made with the British Court, and arranged that the queen should marry one of her cousins, who was a contemptible person and in weak health, whilst her sister married Louis Philippe's son; and the marriages took place on the same day (1846). Great Britain was furious, as it was thought that the queen would have no heirs, and that consequently Louis Philippe would secure the throne of Spain for his own descendants. As a matter of fact the queen did have children, and the British fears proved groundless; but the British distrust of Louis Philippe remained incurable.

Louis Philippe, however, was not to reign much longer. The great year of Revolutions came in 1848. France started the movement by deposing Louis Philippe and inaugurating a republic; after ten months of turmoil, *Louis Napoleon*, the nephew of the great Napoleon, was elected as president for four years. Revolutions, headed by political reformers or ardent nationalists, followed in nearly every country in Europe, but especially in Hungary and Italy, where the people strove to rid themselves of the hated Austrian yoke, and in the different states of Germany. The Emperor of Austria abdicated, and his minister, Metternich, was overthrown; whilst the emperor who succeeded, Francis Joseph, then a youth of eighteen, was driven from Vienna. The Prince of Prussia had to fly to England,

THE CRIMEAN WAR

and there was some severe fighting in Italy and Hungary. Lord Palmerston sympathized with these various movements, gave advice in all directions,¹ and actually allowed arms to be sent indirectly from Woolwich Arsenal to the insurgents who rose in Sicily. Before long, however, the forces of reaction were triumphant. Austria was enabled to preserve her rule in Northern Italy, and, with the aid of the Russians, to crush the Hungarians, whilst the movement in Germany fizzled out.

Meanwhile Lord Palmerston's policy had provoked Queen Victoria's keen dissatisfaction. Moreover, he was inclined to carry on negotiations with other countries without consulting either the queen or the prime minister. The queen Fall of Palmerston, 1851. quite rightly protested, and when Lord Palmerston, contrary to the wishes of the queen and the prime minister, expressed his approval of a *coup d'état* by which Louis Napoleon had made himself master of France,² he was dismissed (1851).

2. The Crimean War, 1854-6

In 1854, Eastern complications, so prolific of crises throughout the nineteenth century, produced the only great European war in which Great Britain has been directly engaged since the great campaign against Napoleon. Causes of Crimean War, 1854. In order to understand the causes of this war—

the *Crimean War* as it is called—we must try to appreciate the positions of the chief Christian powers engaged in it. First, let us take Russia. The czar, *Nicholas I*, was firmly persuaded of the impending dissolution of the Turkish Empire. He was anxious to come to some arrangement with Great Britain before that event took place, and with that object spoke to our ambassador at St. Petersburg. "We have on our hands a sick man, a very sick man," he said in reference to Turkey; "we ought to agree about the funeral," and he suggested that

¹ "Every post", wrote Palmerston, "sends me a lamenting minister throwing himself and his country upon England for help, which I am obliged to tell him we cannot afford."

² Louis Napoleon had the support of the army, and early on the morning of Dec. 2, 1851, he arrested seventy people who were the most likely to oppose his re-election as President, and made himself supreme. A year later he was elected Emperor.

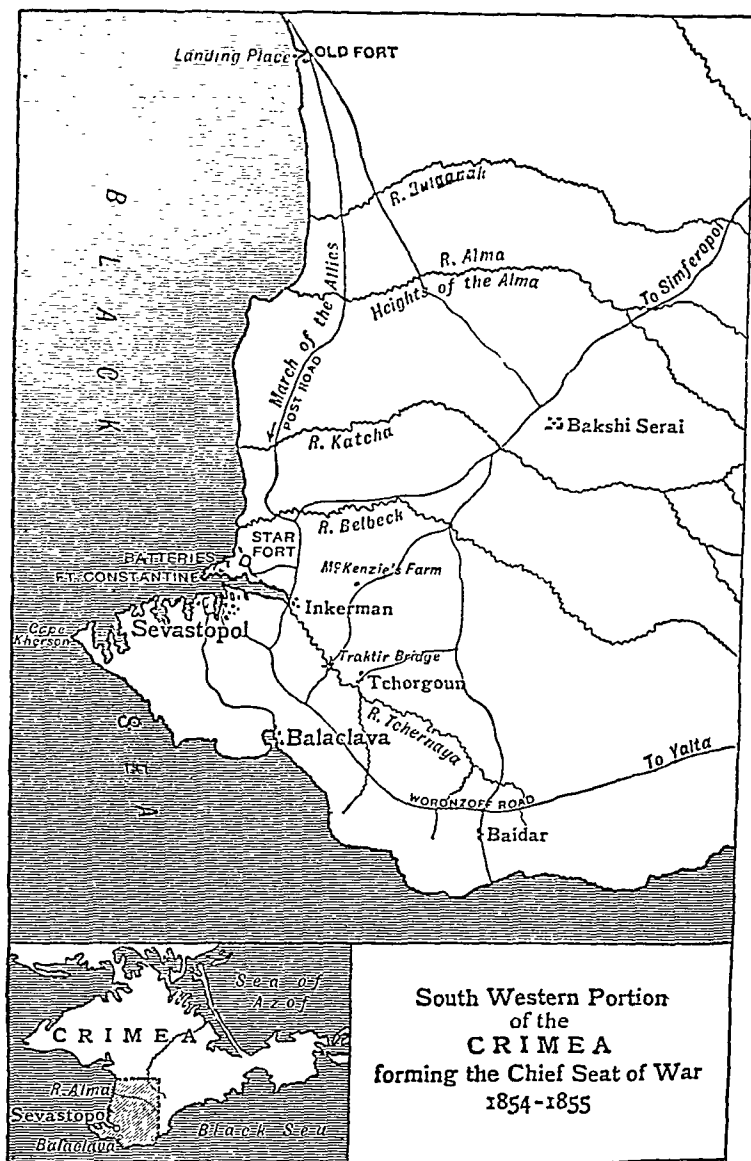
it, as it might have given the czar a large control over the whole of the Turkish territories in Europe. Complex negotiations followed, but unfortunately the British cabinet never made its position clear to Russia, and consequently the czar never realized that persistence in his claims was likely to lead to war. Eventually the Russians, in order to coerce Turkey, occupied the Turkish principalities that bordered the Danube, and subsequently destroyed a Turkish squadron at *Sinope* (Nov., 1853). Feeling in Great Britain was aroused, Louis Napoleon was anxious for war, and eventually the British cabinet drifted into it; an ultimatum was sent to Russia, and on its rejection war was declared (March, 1854). Great Britain, France, and Turkey, joined in the following year by the ruler of Piedmont, the King of Sardinia,¹ were opposed to Russia; Prussia and Austria, after some hesitation, remained neutral.

The war which followed is generally known as the *Crimean War*, because it was in the Crimea that the main military operations took place. The original object of the allies, the The war, 1854. expulsion of the Russians from the Danubian principalities, was quickly secured; but it was considered necessary for future security to cripple Russia, and for that purpose to capture *Sebastopol*, the great Russian arsenal and fort in the Crimea, the "very heart", as it was called, "of Russian power in the East".

"The history of the Crimean War", it has been said, "is a history of blunders." In a sense this is true of all wars, and the combatant who makes the fewer blunders is victorious. But the great powers of Europe had waged no big campaign since that of 1815, and it is undeniable that the art of war had been somewhat forgotten. The allied forces landed in the Crimea, and won the battle of the *Alma* in September, 1854. But the battle, apart from the courage shown by the soldiers, reflected little credit upon the allies.² An immediate advance after the battle might have resulted in the capture of *Sebastopol*. But the French

¹ This was due to the King of Sardinia's minister, Cavour; he wished to ingratiate his country with France and Great Britain, so that they might look with sympathy upon Cavour's schemes for the attainment of Italian nationality.

² Lord Raglan, the British commander, was on an exposed position within the enemy's lines where he could not control the battle, whilst the bulk of the French forces went astray, and arrived too late to turn the enemy's left wing as was intended.



commander was mortally ill, and delayed. Consequently the Russians were given time to improve the defences by raising earthworks and by scuttling the fleet in the Bay of Sebastopol. The allied commanders, after a dangerous flank march round Sebastopol, decided that an immediate assault was impossible, and undertook a regular siege.

The British base of supplies was at Balaclava, some six miles from their trenches. A large Russian army which was outside Sebastopol determined to seize it, and on the 25th October came the battle of *Balaclava*. That battle was famous for three incidents. Early in the day our Turkish allies had been repulsed by the Russians; the way to Balaclava was as a consequence only blocked by one regiment of foot, the 93rd, under Colin Campbell. Some squadrons of Russian cavalry tried to reach Balaclava by getting round the flank of the British line, but Campbell, with great celerity, changed his front, and the Russian cavalry were obliged to retreat. Soon after this, the "Heavy Brigade" of cavalry, though it was outnumbered by three to one, charged the massed squadrons of the Russian cavalry, and in some eight minutes broke through them, and forced them to retreat. Last of all, six hundred men of the "Light Brigade" made, owing to mistaken orders, a magnificent though useless charge down a valley swept by artillery from all sides, and actually managed to reach and temporarily to take possession of the enemy's guns.¹ The British forces, therefore, managed to save Balaclava, but the Russians got command of the only metalled road that ran from Balaclava to the British trenches, and hence made this road useless for the transport of supplies. Less than a fortnight after the attempt on Balaclava, the Russians made a determined attack at *Inkerman*, upon the right of the British forces besieging Sebastopol. After a desperate battle, fought in a fog—a "soldiers' battle", if ever there was one—the Russians were eventually repulsed (November 5, 1854).

The allies now, however, had to fight a Crimean winter, and in the middle of November it began. A fearful hurricane, accom-

¹ See Tennyson's *Poems*. The criticism of the French commander on the charge of the Light Brigade is well known: "C'est magnifique, mais ce n'est pas la guerre".

panied by rain and snow, destroyed many of the tents, made the cart track from the trenches to Balaclava—the only means of communication the British had—impassable for wheeled traffic, and destroyed twenty-one ships which were conveying clothing, forage, and ammunition for the British forces. For the next four months the condition of the army was terrible. The cold was intense; food and clothing were alike scanty; the transport animals all perished, and the soldiers had to convert themselves into commissariat mules to bring in supplies; and the camp hospitals were miserably provided with necessities for the sick and wounded. As a consequence, the troops were attacked by cholera and scurvy, by dysentery and fever, and at one time the men in hospital were more numerous than those outside it.

Newspaper correspondents made the condition of the army known at home. The nation was furious, and felt that *Lord Palmerston* was the only statesman fitted to cope with the situation. Lord Aberdeen accordingly resigned in January, 1855, and Palmerston became prime minister. But even before this preparations had been made to improve matters. Men and supplies were sent to the Crimea, whilst *Miss Florence Nightingale* was allowed to organize the nursing in the hospitals; and with Lord Palmerston's accession to office fresh energy was infused into every department.

The Russian army had fared little better than the British during the winter, and was in no condition to take the offensive.

Moreover, in February, 1855, the Czar Nicholas died,¹ and was succeeded by *Alexander II*. Negotiations for peace were begun, but they came to nothing. The allies then prosecuted the war with vigour. The French had a hundred thousand men, the British forty thousand, and the King of Sardinia some fifteen thousand. With these forces attempts were made to storm Sebastopol; they were at first unsuccessful, but finally, in September, determined attacks were made by the French and British upon two forts which were the keys of the Russian position, the Malakoff and the Redan. The

Fall of
Sebastopol,
Sept., 1855.

¹ The czar had said, referring to the Crimean winter, that he had two generals on whom he could always rely, *Janvier et Fevrier*. On the czar's death, in the latter month, a famous cartoon was published in *Punch*, called "General Fevrier turned traitor".

British attack on the latter failed, but the French took the Malakoff, and the same night Sebastopol was abandoned by the Russians (September 8, 1855).

The fall of Sebastopol really ended the war. A congress of European powers was held in Paris at the beginning of 1856, and at the end of March peace was signed. By the terms of peace, the integrity of the Ottoman Empire was ^{Treaty of Paris, 1856.} guaranteed by the powers, though the sultan promised reforms for his Christian subjects, and the Danubian principalities, Wallachia and Moldavia, were made self-governing, eventually forming the kingdom of Roumania. The Black Sea was declared neutral, and no ship of war was allowed upon it; nor were arsenals to be built upon its shores.

3. British Diplomacy and the Period of Warfare, 1857-71

The Crimean War proved but the prelude to a series of wars all over the world. No sooner was it over than Great Britain had to fight against Persia and China, and to struggle for her power in India, where the Mutiny broke out in 1857. Moreover, her relations with France caused her no little uneasiness, especially in 1858. "We are riding a runaway horse," Palmerston had said of his alliance with Napoleon III, "and must always be on our guard;" and Napoleon III was suspected of designing an invasion of Great Britain and of avenging his uncle's defeats at Trafalgar and Waterloo.

Then in 1859 British diplomacy was occupied with the *War of Italian Liberation*. Since the fall of Napoleon, Italy had been, as during past centuries, merely a "geographical expression". The King of Sardinia and the Emperor of Austria occupied the north; the Pope, the Duke of Tuscany, and three other dukes shared the centre; the King of Naples governed, or rather misgoverned, the south and Sicily. In 1859 the movement for uniting it into a single nation under Victor Emmanuel, who ruled Piedmont, and was King of Sardinia, could no longer be repressed. But the difficulties were immense: eight states had to

be united; the Austrians had to be expelled; and the existence of the Papacy in Italy made the problem of unity a most complex one. The Italian patriots, however, were fortunate in their leaders. The discretion of *Victor Emmanuel*, the brain of *Cavour*, his chief minister, and the sword of the hero *Garibaldi* accomplished a United Italy. But, nevertheless, without the assistance of France and Great Britain the movement might not have been successful. Napoleon III with a French army drove the Austrian forces from Lombardy in 1859, though later he forsook the Italian cause, and supported the Pope; whilst the British Government, with Lord Palmerston as prime minister and Lord John Russell as foreign secretary, gave the Italians its moral support, and prevented European intervention when Garibaldi with his thousand "Red-Shirts" conquered first Sicily and then Naples in 1860.¹ As a consequence, all Italy was united save Venice and the city of Rome; and these were finally added, the one in 1866, when Austria's energies were occupied in a war with Prussia, and the other in 1870, during the war between France and Germany, when the French troops who had been guarding Rome were withdrawn.

The American Civil War (1861-5) followed close on the War of Italian Liberation. This was a war fought between the

The American
Civil War,
1861-5.

Northern and Southern States: first as to the right of the Southern States to secede from the Union; and secondly, as to the continuance of slavery, which was still the basis of all labour in the South. The war was fought with great determination on both sides for four years before the North was finally successful.² The earlier stages of the war were fought on the question of secession rather than on that of slavery, and the sympathy of the governing classes in Great Britain was inclined to the South, partly because it was the weaker side and partly because of the magnificent fighting powers which it exhibited. The Northern States, moreover, by blockading the Southern ports prevented the export of cotton, which led to terrible distress in Lancashire.

¹ Armed with muskets "fit for the scrap heap", Garibaldi and the thousand took, with the aid of the Sicilian populace, the capital of Sicily from twenty-four thousand regular troops armed with rifles.

² The war is reckoned, through battle and disease, to have killed or crippled a million men.

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The British Government, however, maintained a strict neutrality, though two incidents nearly produced a war with the Northern States. A Northern man-of-war violated British neutrality by taking on the high seas from a British mail steamer—the *Trent*—two agents of the Southern States who were coming to Europe with the object of obtaining European assistance. The British nation was furiously indignant, and its Government sent the Guards to Canada, and penned a dispatch demanding the surrender of the agents and an immediate apology. The Queen, at the suggestion of the Prince Consort—it was his last official act before his death—persuaded the Government to make the wording of the dispatch less peremptory in tone, and to give the Northern States an opportunity of giving way without humiliation, an opportunity of which they fortunately took advantage (1861).¹

In the other incident the British Government was at fault. A vessel was being built at Birkenhead for use as a cruiser on the side of the South. The British Government was given information about it, but neglected to take steps in time, and consequently the steamer, called the *Alabama*, was able to leave Birkenhead in 1862, and for the next two years played havoc with the merchant ships of the Northern States.² The States demanded compensation, and eventually, after long and critical negotiations, the matter was finally ended in 1872 by Great Britain paying over three million pounds.

Whilst the American Civil War was still raging, a new personality in European affairs had arisen in *Bismarck*. Since 1815 the policy of Prussia had lacked initiative and courage, and Lord Palmerston once spoke of her as a *quantité négligeable*. But Palmerston was to be rudely undeceived when Bismarck became the chief minister

The "Trent".

The "Alabama".

Bismarck and the Polish Question, 1863.

¹ But American feeling was still sore on the point. Cf. the American poet's lines—

We give the critturs back, John,
'Cos Abram thought 'twas right;
It warn't your bullyin' clack, John,
Provoking us to fight.

² The British Government on July 29 finally decided to seize the vessel; but at daybreak that morning the *Alabama* left the Mersey, ostensibly on a trial trip, with ladies and other guests on board. The guests were landed in Wales, and the ship took in her armament and her captain and a fresh crew off the Azores, and hoisted the Southern flag.

of the King of Prussia in 1862. His policy was one of "blood and iron"—he knew exactly what he wanted, and was determined to spare no force in order to secure it. Lord Palmerston, now nearing eighty years of age, with a pacific court, a lukewarm and occasionally hostile cabinet, and an army which was small, and not, since the Crimean War, considered to be of great efficiency, was no match for such a resolute diplomatist. Thus, in 1863, British sympathy was aroused in behalf of the *Poles*, who, owing to Russian misgovernment, had risen in insurrection. The British Government dispatched three protests against the cruelty of the Russians in dealing with the rising, whilst Bismarck, afraid lest a successful rising in Russian Poland might be followed by a similar movement in Prussian Poland, concentrated three army corps on the western frontier of Prussia, ready to help Russia if occasion arose. It is needless to say, therefore, that British protests were unavailing, and the insurrection in Poland was stamped out with merciless ferocity. British intervention had merely irritated Russia without mitigating the lot of the Poles.

In another and more important affair Bismarck triumphed. In 1863 the *Schleswig-Holstein Question* became acute. Palmerston is reported to have said that there were only three people in Europe who ever understood it: the Prince Consort who was dead, a Danish statesman who was mad, and he himself who had forgotten it. An attempt to explain it would therefore be difficult. It is sufficient to remember that for four centuries the kingdom of Denmark and these two Duchies had been ruled by the same sovereign, but that Holstein was also part of Germany, and belonged in the nineteenth century to the German Confederation. An attempt made by the King of Denmark to draw the ties between Denmark and Schleswig closer produced protests from the two chief German states—Austria and Prussia—and, on their proving unavailing, an Austro-Prussian army proceeded to occupy Holstein. British sympathies were strongly with Denmark, which was regarded as a small state bullied by two large ones. An indiscreet speech of Lord Palmerston's led the Danes to suppose that Great Britain would support them by force if necessary, a delusion sedulously fostered by Bismarck, who was anxious that

The
Schleswig-
Holstein
Question,
1863-4.

Denmark should go to war, in order that she might be deprived of the Duchies. Denmark was therefore encouraged to resist the demands made on her. An army of Austrians and Prussians accordingly overran both Duchies, and, as no help came from Great Britain, Denmark had not only to surrender them, but to pay an indemnity for having attempted their defence (1864).

Soon after this, in 1865, Lord Palmerston died. The foreign policy of his ministry towards the close of his life was described by the opposition as a policy of "meddle and muddle", and of "senseless and spiritless menaces". Yet it must be remembered that Lord Palmerston had been one of the creators of the kingdoms of Belgium and Italy; and that he had carried Great Britain successfully through the later stages of the Crimean War. In his old age he met in Bismarck a rival with a freer hand and with a larger and better equipped army—and he was worsted.

The five years following Lord Palmerston's death (1865-71) saw the establishment of Prussian predominance in Europe. The great object of Bismarck's policy was to drive Austria out of Germany and make Prussia the leading power there. He accordingly brought on a war with Austria in 1866; the battle of *Sadowa* was decisive, and in seven weeks the war came to an end, Prussia gaining as a result the Duchies of Schleswig-Holstein and the kingdom of Hanover,¹ and displacing Austria as the chief power in Germany.

Prussia's success was regarded with great apprehension by Napoleon III, whilst Bismarck saw that the unity of Germany could only be achieved by a successful war against her old enemy, France. Consequently, war between France and Prussia was probably inevitable. And in 1870 differences between France and Prussia relative to a candidate for the throne of Spain were dexterously utilized by Bismarck to bring on a war, but in such a way that France appeared to be the aggressor. In this war Prussia, supported by the other German States, including those in the south, was brilliantly successful. Within a month of its opening, Napoleon III and a large army were captured at *Sedan*; and this was followed by

The Austro-Prussian Seven Weeks' War (1866).

Franco-German War, 1870-1.

¹ The Duke of Cumberland, William IV's brother, had succeeded to the throne of Hanover in 1837, as female succession was not allowed.

the surrender of *Metz* and the siege of Paris. From these disasters France could not recover, and in 1871 she had to agree to a peace by which she paid an enormous indemnity, and lost Alsace and Lorraine.

The Franco-German War had other results. In France it led to the creation of a republic, which has survived ever since. In Germany, the various states were federated under the leadership of Prussia, whose king became Emperor of Germany. Moreover, the war led to the final completion of Italian unity, as the Italians took advantage of the war to capture Rome. Finally, the Franco-German War led to the re-opening of the Eastern Question.¹ At Bismarck's suggestion—for Bismarck was anxious to keep both Russia and Great Britain employed—Russia, in 1871, took advantage of the Franco-German War to repudiate the article in the Treaty of Paris neutralizing the Black Sea. Great Britain had not intervened in either of the two wars in which Prussia had been engaged. Even this infraction of the Treaty by Russia only met with a protest from her, which, unbacked by armed force, was disregarded; and a European conference met soon afterwards and rescinded the article.

4. The Eastern Question, 1876-8

If Russia had repudiated one of the terms of the Treaty of Paris, the sultan had neglected to carry out another; his promised reforms for his Christian subjects, "the worthless

¹ The Bulgarian atrocities, 1876. promise of a worthless potentate", came to nothing, and "the relations between the sultan and his subjects, that is to say, the relation between the tyrant and his victims, went on just as before". Consequently there was continual unrest in the Balkan States. In 1875 the people of Herzegovina revolted; and in 1876 their example was followed by the Bulgarians, whilst Serbia and Montenegro declared war on the Turks. The Turks in revenge perpetrated in *Bulgaria* the most terrible barbarities. Thousands of people were massacred and tortured—in

¹ The terms of the Treaty of Paris which ended the Crimean War had been broken before the war of 1870, for Wallachia and Moldavia, which it was intended should remain separate, had been united in 1866 under the name of Roumania.

one place, it was said, a child was impaled on a standard and paraded through the streets.

How did public opinion in Great Britain regard these events? On the one hand, the atrocities drew Mr. Gladstone from his retirement (p. 635), and in a series of speeches and pamphlets he summoned the nation to support a policy of freeing the Christian subjects of Turkey from the sultan's control, and of expelling the sultan, "bag and baggage", from Europe. Lord Beaconsfield, on the other hand, who was prime minister, distrusted the political designs of Russia, and favoured what he called the "traditional" policy of Great Britain—the maintenance of the integrity of the Ottoman dominions. The British nation was divided between the horror inspired by Turkish cruelty and the distrust provoked by long experience of Russian diplomacy. But when Russia, after the failure of an attempt to secure European intervention in Turkey, declared war, and in 1877 invaded the Turkish territories in Europe and Asia, the latter sentiment steadily gained ground, and the memory of Turkish barbarity was gradually obliterated by the accounts of the bravery which the Turks exhibited for six months, against overwhelming forces, in the defence of *Plevna*, their stronghold in the north of the Balkans.

But *Plevna* fell at last, and the Russians threatened to attack Constantinople itself. The Russians were consequently able to force the Turks to make peace (1878). But the terms imposed by Russia were such that Great Britain could not acquiesce in them, and war seemed then imminent between Russia and Great Britain. A British fleet brought up near Constantinople, and six thousand troops were sent from India to Malta. But then Russia agreed to refer the arrangement to a European congress. It met at Berlin, under the presidency of Bismarck, Lord Beaconsfield and Lord Salisbury being the British representatives. After critical debates a treaty, known as the *Treaty of Berlin*, was agreed upon (1878). (By its terms Roumania and Servia and Montenegro were declared independent of Turkey; Bosnia and Herzegovina, though still belonging to Turkey, were put under Austrian administration; Russia received a fort and a port in Asia Minor; whilst Great Britain, by a sepa-

rate treaty with Turkey, was given control of Cyprus. Two new States were created—one, Bulgaria, which was to be self-governing though under Turkish suzerainty, and the other, Eastern Roumelia, which was placed under a Christian governor nominated by the sultan but approved by the powers.) At the time the treaty was thought to be a great triumph for Great Britain, and Lord Beaconsfield proclaimed that he brought back "peace with honour".

The Eastern Question had been since the Franco-German War the only question in Europe which really interested Great

The Eastern
Question,
1878-1909.

Britain; and after the Treaty of Berlin even interest in that began to subside, and infractions of the treaty have not roused her to action. Eastern Roumelia

was united to Bulgaria in 1885. Austria in 1908 annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina, whilst Bulgaria at the same time declared its complete independence of Turkey. None of these measures produced anything but ineffective protests from Great Britain.

During the years 1913-4, renewed troubles had broken out in the Balkans. First, Serbia, Bulgaria, Greece, and Montenegro combined against Turkey. Then, having driven back the Turks, except from a small district round Constantinople, the allies quarrelled; and Bulgaria's greed led all the other Balkan powers, including Roumania, to combine against her, with the result that at the Treaty of Bucharest in 1913 she got less than was originally intended. A year later, 1914, the unending quarrels and rivalries in the Balkans provided the occasion for the greatest war in history—the World War, 1914-8 (see p. 716a).

XLIX. Great Britain and World-Politics, 1878-1911

On the whole, it is true to say that up till 1878 the gaze of European statesmen had been fixed mainly upon affairs in Europe; and that, since that date, it has been fixed to an increasing extent upon affairs in Asia and Africa. World-Policy
of European
States. What were the causes of this change? Partly, no doubt, it was due to the fact that, for the generation that lived after 1878, there was no European problem that pressed for immediate solution; Italy had attained her nationality, Prussia had fought out her struggle with Austria and with France, and even the Eastern Question ceased to be explosive. Then, again, in the years previous to 1878 the value of extra-European possessions was hardly realized. Cobden, for instance, the free trader, had looked upon our great Indian Empire with an "eye of despair". The popular view of colonies was expressed by Disraeli,¹ who said in 1852, "these wretched colonies will all be independent in a few years and are like a millstone round our necks"; whilst Bismarck said in 1876, "I do not want colonies at all. Their only use is to provide sinecures." But the growing fidelity of the colonies to the British Empire and their increasing prosperity, coupled with the greater facilities of communication, gradually brought about a revulsion of feeling. Above all, the European nations began gradually to realize the necessity for expansion. They had to find outlets for their growing population,² fresh markets for the products of their growing manufactures. Africa and Asia offered the best openings for their enterprise; and the field of rivalry between the various European nations has therefore been transferred from Europe to these two vast continents.

¹ Of course Disraeli in later years held quite different opinions.

² The population of people of European extraction increased from 170 millions to 510 millions in the course of the nineteenth century.

1. Great Britain and Egypt

To begin with, we must endeavour to trace the relations of Great Britain with Egypt. The first difficulties which arose there, however, were not caused by the rivalry for expansion, but were due to other circumstances. It will be remembered that Mehemet Ali had made himself master of Egypt, though he was still subject nominally to the sovereignty of Turkey. His grandson, *Ismail Pasha*,¹ succeeded in 1863, and was accorded by the sultan the title of *Khedive*—in return for a substantial money payment. Ismail's reign was, it has been said, "a carnival of extravagance and oppression". He possessed an unrivalled capacity for spending money, for he added to the wasteful tastes of an Oriental despot a genuine desire to introduce into his country, in all haste, the conveniences of Western civilization, without the least idea how to do it economically and effectively. As a consequence, during his sixteen years of rule, the debt of Egypt increased from £3,000,000 to £100,000,000, and every form of extortion was practised on his subjects in order to furnish him with money, the "fellaheen"—as the Egyptian peasants are called—being perhaps, during his reign, the most wretched people in all the world. Some of his expenditure was wise. He was, for instance, a great supporter of the *Suez Canal Company*, and bought large quantities of its shares. But he and his family, and the ministers and adventurers who surrounded him, recklessly squandered the greater part of the money they obtained. One instance must suffice: an Egyptian princess ran up a bill of £150,000 with a French dressmaker.

Eventually the crash came. Ismail first sold all his Canal shares, Disraeli buying £4,000,000 worth of them for Great Britain. Then, in 1876, he repudiated the State debts. The creditors were Europeans, chiefly British and French, and such an action made European intervention inevitable. Moreover, Great Britain regarded Egypt as the highway to India, and was therefore vitally interested in the stability of its government. The

¹ Pasha is a Turkish title usually given to generals and governors of provinces.

upshot, after various complicated negotiations, was that Great Britain and France in 1879 got the sultan to depose Ismail and to nominate *Tewfik*, his son, in his place, whilst the public debt of Egypt was put under the supervision of the European powers, and two controllers, appointed by Great Britain and France respectively, guided the financial administration of the country.

The *Dual Control*, as it has been called, was not to last for long. There shortly arose an anti-foreign movement, directed against any Turkish or European control of Egyptian affairs, the motto of which was "Egypt for the Egyptians". Moreover, in the army there was great discontent, chiefly owing to the arrears of pay, and in 1881 *Arabi Pasha*, an officer in the army, was the leader of a successful mutiny, and practically obtained the control of the government. There soon followed a riot in Alexandria, in which some fifty Europeans were brutally murdered. It was obvious that the country was drifting into anarchy, and hundreds of Europeans began to leave the country. The Great Powers, therefore, held a solemn conference at Constantinople to decide what should be done; but they decided nothing, and meanwhile the Egyptian soldiers at Alexandria raised batteries for use against a British fleet which had been dispatched to that port. This was too much even for Lord Granville, the foreign secretary in Gladstone's ministry, whose policy had hitherto been of a somewhat dawdling character. He suggested to France a joint bombardment of Alexandria, but France, fearful of Bismarck's designs if French energies were absorbed in Egypt, refused. Great Britain accordingly acted alone, and, on the Egyptians refusing to pull down the batteries, Alexandria was bombarded and the batteries destroyed (July, 1882). Having once begun to interfere, Great Britain could not stop. Sir Garnet (afterwards Lord) Wolseley was sent to Egypt, and by a well-delivered blow at Tel-el-Kebir crushed Arabi's forces (September, 1882), and Arabi himself was exiled to Ceylon. The khedive's power was re-established, some of the British forces being left provisionally in the country.

Arabi Pasha's
movement,
1881-2.

No sooner was the Arabi revolt suppressed than danger arose elsewhere. The khedive not only ruled Egypt, but a vast country known as the Soudan, which extends south of Wady Halfa, and

was twice as big as France and Germany put together. Mohammedans believe that a "Mahdi" will appear on earth, on whose

The Mahdi and the evacuation of the Soudan, 1883.

coming the world will be converted to Mohammedanism. A man in the Soudan proclaimed himself to be "the Mahdi" in 1881. The Soudanese under Ismail's rule had suffered, except during a short period when General Gordon was governor, every form of misgovernment, large parts of the land having been leased out to slave-hunters. Consequently they flocked to join the new prophet, and it soon became evident that a formidable rebellion was in progress. The khedive and his ministers, after Arabi's downfall, sent a general called Hicks to crush the Dervishes, as the Mahdi's followers were called; but the army was raw and undisciplined, and was totally destroyed (1883).¹ It was clear that the Soudan must be evacuated, at any rate for a time. The Egyptian Government was unwilling to adopt this course, and consequently the British Government had again to interfere, and to insist upon it.

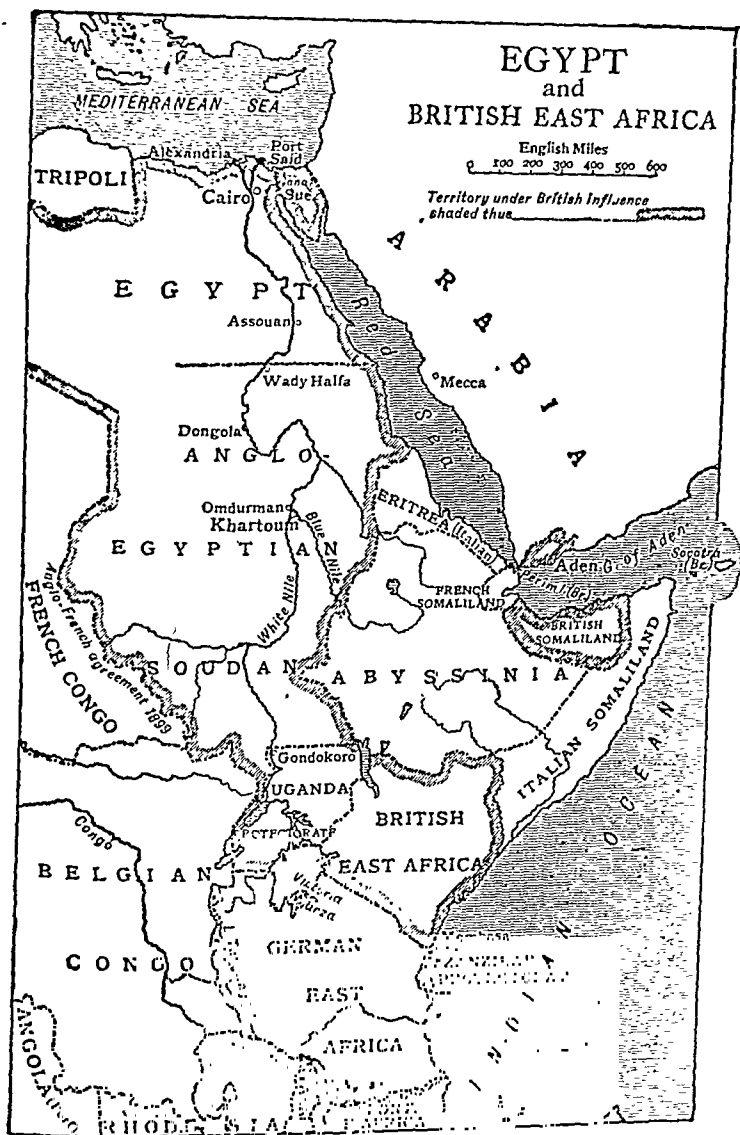
But at once two questions arose—how far was it possible to extricate the Egyptian garrisons in the Soudan, amounting to some fifty thousand men? and what form of government, if any, was to be set up in the Soudan after its evacuation? The British Government decided to send

Gordon's mission, 1884-5.

to the Soudan *General Gordon*—who had a few years before governed it for a short time—with the primary and main object of superintending the evacuation and of saving as many garrisons as he could, and incidentally of making what arrangements were possible for the future government of the country. Gordon was a hero of heroes, brave, chivalrous, impetuous, emotional, self-confident;² but because of some of these very qualities it was a mistake to send him. When he reached *Khartoum* (February, 1884), the capital of the Soudan, it was perhaps natural that he should lay the chief stress, not upon the unadventurous policy of evacuation, but upon the future settlement of the country and

¹ The army was led astray by the guides, and after wandering three days and three nights without water, came upon a force of the enemy whom it was too feeble to resist.

² Gordon's most famous exploits were in China. He commanded a force, known as "the Ever-victorious Army", on behalf of the Chinese government in the formidable Taiping rebellion. His force won thirty-three engagements in under two years (1863-4), and stamped out the rebellion. Gordon led the storming-parties in person, carrying a little cane. His soldiers regarded it as a magic wand, protecting his life and leading them to victory.



the welfare of its inhabitants. First, he asked that Zobeir, a man who had been a noted slave-dealer, should be sent to the Soudan as ruler, as he was a man of enormous influence. But the British Government, fearful of public opinion at home, refused. Then Gordon wanted, in his own words, "to smash the Mahdi" with British or Indian troops. Meantime the chance of extricating the garrisons, if there ever was a chance, passed away; the tribes round Khartoum rose for the Mahdi; and, finally, Gordon's own retreat was cut off.

Gordon had to be relieved. But for five fatal months Gladstone's Government procrastinated. Finally Lord Wolseley was

sent; an advance guard was hurried forward, only to learn, when within sight of Khartoum, that General Gordon, after an heroic defence of three hundred and

Death of
Gordon,
1885.

seventeen days, had been killed, and that the town had fallen two days previously (January, 1885). Relief had arrived too late. The shame and grief of Great Britain at the failure to save General Gordon may be imagined. But nothing could now be done. The fall of Khartoum meant the complete evacuation of the Soudan south of Wady Halfa, and the greater part of the garrisons fell into the hands of the Mahdi.

Meantime in Egypt itself, "the land of paradox", a strange situation developed. Arabi's movement had been quelled by

British forces—but what was then to happen? Great Britain could not annex the country or establish a

Government
of Egypt,
1882-1910.

formal protectorate without violating pledges which she had given to European powers. On the other hand, she could not abandon it; the khedive could not stand alone, and it was clear that, in order not only to reform the country but to save it from anarchy, some power must interfere. To call in the Turk would have made things worse, whilst to ask for the intervention of other European powers would only have increased complications. The upshot was that Great Britain decided upon a provisional occupation, which was to last until Egypt should be able to look after herself—and that occupation, which some optimists hoped would last only for a few months, has, to the infinite benefit of the country, lasted till this day. The Sultan of Turkey still possessed, in name, the sovereign power. He

received an annual tribute, and he limited the numbers of the Egyptian army; the Turkish flag was the Egyptian flag, and the Egyptians themselves were the sultan's subjects. The khedive, Tewfik Pasha, and his ministers, in theory, were responsible for the government and carried on the administration of the country.¹ But the real security for the peace of Egypt has been the British army, the real security for its financial stability has been the British treasury, and the real ruler of the country has been the British consul-general, Lord Cromer.²

Under the guidance of Lord Cromer, "the creator of modern Egypt," British "advisers" to the Egyptian ministers have re-organized the finance and the system of justice and education. Three of the greatest evils of Egypt, the three C's as they have been called, were dealt with. The *courbash*, a strip of hippopotamus hide with a tapering end, once used with hideous frequency on the wretched Egyptians, was forbidden; the *corvée*, or forced labour, was stopped; and the British officials, by their own splendid example, and by using every check in their power, did a great deal to lessen the awful *corruption*—the wholesale bribery and sale of concessions—that used to prevail amongst native officials. Moreover, British engineers have regulated the waters of the Nile, upon which the prosperity of Egypt depends. New systems of irrigation have brought land into cultivation that was desert before, and increased doubly and trebly the productiveness of previously cultivated land, whilst the building of the great dam at Assouan (completed in 1902) has doubled the available supply of Nile water.

Yet it was natural, perhaps, that other European nations should look with some suspicion upon British motives in retaining Egypt; and the attitude of France especially was persistently hostile. As a consequence, great difficulties were experienced by Lord Cromer in dealing with Egyptian finance, which was still subjected, to some extent, to international control; but the *entente cordiale* with France, soon after the accession of Edward VII, led to an agreement by which France recognized the British position in Egypt,

¹ On Tewfik's death in 1892, Abbas II succeeded him.

² Lord Cromer retired in 1907, and was succeeded by Sir Eldon Gorst, and on the latter's death in 1911 Lord Kitchener was appointed.

and allowed Great Britain to fix her own time for the end of its occupation, whilst Great Britain in return recognized France's position in Morocco.

The British occupation gave British officers the chance to create an efficient Egyptian army, and in 1896 that army was strong enough to undertake, with the aid of British forces, the reconquest of the Soudan. Parts of the outside region of that country had already been acquired by other powers, by France and Italy, by Great Britain and Abyssinia, but the great mass of it was still, in 1896, under the cruel rule of the Khalifa, who had succeeded the Mahdi. General (afterwards Lord) Kitchener worked out the details of the campaigns in masterly fashion. In 1898 the main body of the Dervish forces, who fought with heroic bravery,¹ was finally destroyed at the battle of *Omdurman*, a battle which led to the capture of Khartoum, and the end of the Dervish rule. The fact that the population of the Soudan had sunk from eight millions to four and a half millions showed how merciless that rule had been. The Soudan was put under the joint control of Egypt and Great Britain in 1899, and since then has made steady progress.

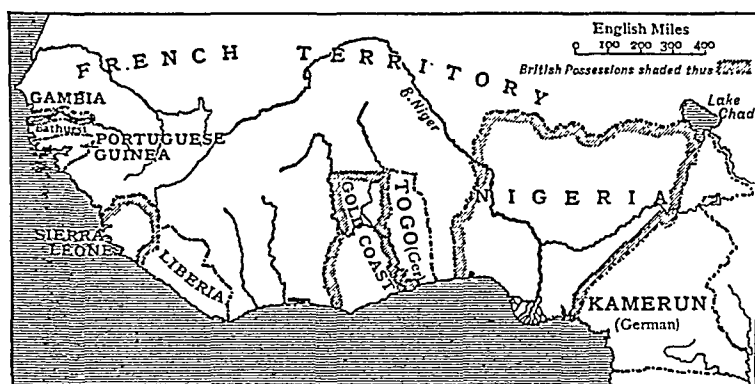
2. The "Grab for Africa"

We turn from Egypt to other parts of Africa. It is said that between 1879 and 1889 Great Britain added to her possessions land equal in size to one-third of Europe. Some of these additions were in the East, such as Upper *Burmah* (1886); but the larger part of them was in Africa. During the first half of the nineteenth century the interior of Africa was almost unknown, but in the third quarter of the century the expeditions of explorers, and more especially of Livingstone and Stanley, aroused European interest. And then, in 1884, began what is called the "*grab for Africa*". The European powers, eager for new outlets, began a general scramble for

¹ "Our men were perfect," wrote an English correspondent, "but the Dervishes were superb—beyond perfection. Their riflemen, mangled by every form of death and torment that man can devise, clung round the black flag and the green, emptying their poor, rotten, home-made cartridges dauntlessly. Their spearmen charged death at every moment hopelessly."

new territories and "spheres of influence". The result was that France obtained in North-west Africa an enormous empire, stretching from Algiers to the Congo River, twenty times the size of France itself.¹ Germany obtained not far short of one million square miles on the east and west coasts of Africa, and Italy possessions bordering on the Red Sea or adjacent to it. King Leopold of Belgium had already formed the Congo Free State in 1880, and Portugal had extended her ancient possessions on either coast of Africa.

Great Britain herself was not behind other competitors. She



already possessed Cape Colony and Natal, Sierra Leone and the Gold Coast. To them she now added *Bechuanaland* and *Rhodesia*. On the west coast, chiefly through the enterprise of Sir George Goldie, a British company developed *Nigeria*, which has, since 1900, been a British Protectorate. On the east, the East Africa Company developed what are now known as the Protectorates of *British East Africa* and *Uganda*, the latter country being first penetrated about 1890. Moreover, protectorates were established over parts of Somaliland and Zanzibar respectively in 1884 and 1891. Needless to say, the scramble, whilst it was in progress, led to considerable diplomatic complications, which were, however, gradually overcome

Great
Britain's
share.

¹ Much of it, however, is the "light, sandy soil" of the Saharan desert. In 1911 France obtained a virtual Protectorate over Morocco, though she was obliged to give a large slice of her territories in the Congo as "compensation" to Germany.

by agreements between the various powers concerned. Great Britain was also engaged in various little wars in Uganda, in Nigeria, and with the Ashantees.

3. The Far East

(See Map, p. 697)

From Africa the scramble for territory spread to the Far East. Great Britain had already acquired, at the close of the eighteenth century, *Penang*, and, within ten years of the battle of The Far East. Waterloo, *Malacca* and *Singapore*, these three being now known as the Straits Settlements. In the early seventies she obtained influence over the Malay States, which were finally federated under British protection in 1896, whilst in 1888 she obtained the protectorate of *North Borneo* and *Sarawak*, the latter state the creation of an Englishman, Rajah Brooke.¹ But there were still left the islands in the Pacific, for which there was a brisk competition between France, Germany, and Great Britain: the latter had acquired the *Fiji Islands*² in 1874, and she added various other islands towards the end of the nineteenth century.

At the close of the nineteenth century the rivalry between European nations was transferred to China. Here, however, as elsewhere, Great Britain had already acquired a long start. China, it must be remembered, boasted of possessing the oldest civilization in the world, and looked with contempt on the mushroom growth of European nations.³ Consequently the action of Chinese officials was apt to be high-handed, and had already caused two wars between

¹ Rajah Brooke (died 1868), after running away from school, served for a time in the army of the East India Company. He subsequently inherited a fortune, bought a schooner, and sailed to Borneo in 1838, where he quickly established a great reputation with the natives. Unfortunately the coast tribes of Borneo were inveterate pirates and very cruel ones, the collection of as large a number of human heads as possible being with them a passionate hobby. Brooke aided the British navy to suppress piracy, and then became Rajah of Sarawak, a territory of some 28,000 square miles.

² The first effect, unfortunately, of British rule was an epidemic of measles which carried off one-third of the people.

³ In the opinion of Chinamen, "all men under heaven" owed allegiance to their emperor, and in Chinese official documents the monarch of Great Britain was described as being "reverentially submissive", and as "having repeatedly paid tribute" to the Emperor of China.

Great Britain and China. The first occurred in 1840, when a Chinese Commissioner dealt in very summary fashion with British subjects who, with the connivance of minor officials, were smuggling opium into China. As a result of the war, *Hong-Kong* was ceded to Great Britain, and since that time the trade of Hong-Kong has been developed to such an extent that it now ranks amongst the six greatest ports in the world. The second war took place between 1857 and 1860, and was caused by the fact that Chinese officials had insulted our flag which was flying over a vessel trading at Canton. Great Britain was aided by France, and eventually China, after the Summer Palace at Peking had been destroyed, agreed to pay a large indemnity, and to allow European ministers to reside at Peking.

Later on, the other powers came in. France developed a large Empire to the south of China during the last twenty years of the nineteenth century; Russia occupied Port Arthur,¹ and gradually ate into the frontiers of northern China; Germany, in 1898, took advantage of the murder of two missionaries to acquire Kiau-Chau, whilst Great Britain acquired *Wei-hai-wei*. Meantime mining and railway concessions were obtained in different districts by Europeans. Chinamen, perhaps naturally, resented these foreign activities in their country, and the result was the creation of a patriotic society called the *Boxers*, who wanted all white men to be exterminated. The "Boxers" became supreme in Peking, and proceeded to besiege the foreign legations (1901). Consequently an international force was sent, which successfully relieved the legations, and at the close of the military operations China had to pay a large indemnity. Now China is at last waking up, and many Europeans look with no little apprehension upon the probable effects of Chinese competition in the future.

The "Boxer" outbreak, 1901.

There have been, since the Treaty of Berlin in 1878, no great wars between European nations, but the trading and colonial rivalries between the Great Powers produced, at times, a considerable amount of friction. Thus Germany and Great Britain

¹ The Russians ceded Port Arthur to Japan in 1905, after the Russo-Japanese War.

found some difficulty in settling their boundaries in Africa. Great Britain incurred the ill will of France by her occupation of Egypt, whilst Great Britain herself was very suspicious of Russia's designs in Afghanistan and the Far East. Hence for many of the years after 1878 Great Britain was in a position of isolation, and at the time of the South African War in 1899 (p. 712) there is no doubt that Great Britain was extremely unpopular in Europe.

But with the accession of King Edward VII in 1901 Great Britain's position slowly improved.¹ Largely through the king's influ-

ence the attitude of the British and French nations towards one another became more friendly, with the result that in 1904 an agreement, as we have seen, was made between them which settled all their disputes. In the same year—1904—war broke out between Russia and Japan. The progress of the latter power had been marvellous in the previous forty years, and its success in the war revealed to Europe its enormous strength. Relations between Japan and Great Britain had been for some time cordial, and in 1905 a defensive alliance was made between them which strengthened the British position in the Far East.² Finally, soon after the Russo-Japanese War was over, the Governments of Russia and Great Britain began to enter into negotiations, and in 1907 an arrangement was made between them (see p. 695). Great Britain during the last few years has also strengthened her friendships with the smaller powers of Europe. Her relations, however, with the strongest of all Continental powers—with Germany—are still somewhat uneasy, many people in Great Britain being, rightly or wrongly, apprehensive of German ambitions.

¹ The fact that eight monarchs, and that ex-presidents from France and America, came to England to attend King Edward VII's funeral showed the respect and affection which he had inspired in foreign countries.

² The alliance was renewed in 1911.

L. History of India since 1823

(13 Ph.) up to 698

The treaty with Russia, referred to at the close of the last chapter, was concerned almost exclusively, so far as the British were concerned, with the security of India, and it may, therefore, be appropriate at this stage to return to the history of our great Indian Empire. That history has already been sketched till the end of Lord Hastings's rule in 1823 (Chap. XXXVIII), a rule which saw the final extension of our supremacy over the Native States in the interior, and we may now follow the course of events up till recent times. After 1823 the whole peninsula of India, from Cape Comorin in the south up to the Scinde frontier and the Sutlej River on the north, was under British authority. Part of this vast territory was directly governed by the British; part was under the control of native rulers, subject, however, to the supervision of the British Government. Meantime other rulerships had been created elsewhere. One dynasty had succeeded in founding the kingdom of Burmah, and was even threatening Eastern Bengal, and another had succeeded in uniting most of the tribes of Afghanistan into one strong state; whilst *Ranjit Singh* had established a great state in the Punjab—the land of five rivers—a territory which stretched from Peshawur and Kashmir in the north to the Sutlej River in the south.

Condition of India after 1823.

Difficulties soon arose between Great Britain and these independent rulers. The first war came in 1824–6 with *Burmah*, and on its conclusion the British obtained the cession of some territory and an indemnity. In 1839 occurred the *First Afghan War*. The frontiers of the Russian Empire and the British Empire were, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, some 2000 miles apart; but gradually, as these empires expanded, their frontiers approached one another, till, at the end of the century, they were at one place barely a dozen miles apart. In the north-west, Afghanistan was regarded by the British as a buffer state between their own empire in India and the Russian Empire; and the good will of its ruler was considered essential for the security of the former. Matters began

The First Afghan War, 1839–41.

intrigue with *Dost Mohammed*, who had usurped the governorship of the greater part of Afghanistan. *Lord Auckland*, the Governor-general of India, decided, somewhat unwisely, to depose Dost Mohammed, and to restore the prince whom Dost Mohammed had evicted. An expedition was accordingly sent;

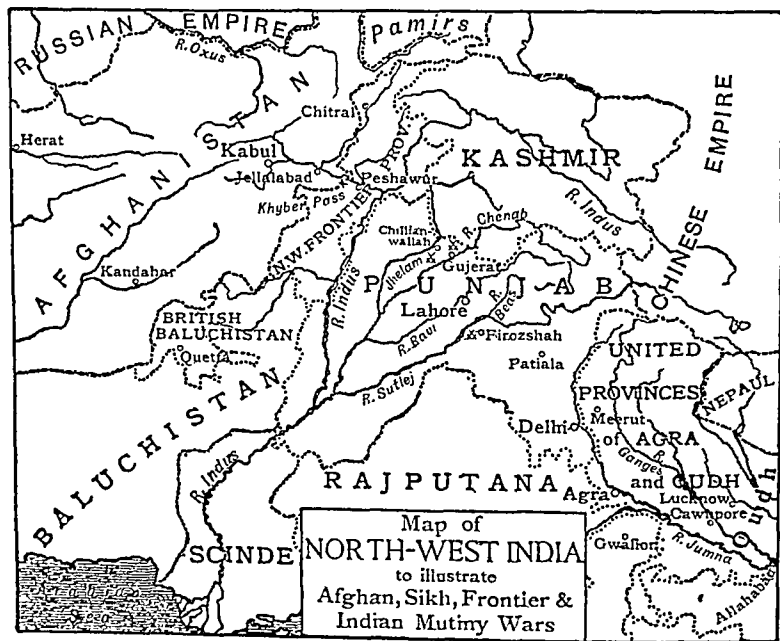
Kabul, the capital, and Kandahar were captured, and the old ruler restored, whilst Dost Mohammed eventually surrendered himself to the British.

For two years there was peace, though the Afghans were sulky and sullen. Then, in 1841, came a great disaster. The British agent at Kabul was murdered. At the same time the military stores were captured by the Afghans, and the weak British brigade at Kabul found itself inadequately supplied with food and surrounded by hostile forces. After two months' resistance it was forced to negotiate with the leader of the Afghans, Dost Mohammed's eldest son, and, under promise of safe-conduct from him, it started in the depth of winter, four thousand strong, and accompanied by twelve thousand camp-followers, to retire to India. Of this whole number only one reached Jelalabad, the nearest British garrison; the rest, except for a few prisoners, perished either from the effect of exposure to the cold or from the knife and the musket of the Afghan. Such a fearful disaster had to be avenged. Two armies marched from India for Kabul, the one by Kandahar, under General Nott, and the other by the Khyber Pass, under General Pollock. They arrived at the capital within a day of each other, burnt the great bazaar, rescued the prisoners, and returned, leaving Dost Mohammed to resume the throne. It is now generally agreed that the British made a mistake in deposing Dost Mohammed and in interfering in Afghanistan. Moreover, the tragic annihilation of the Kabul garrison upset the belief in British invincibility, and was not without its effect upon the subsequent mutiny.

The First Afghan War was the beginning of a series of campaigns, which lasted, with little intermission, till the final suppression of the Mutiny in 1859. Difficulties with the rulers of *Scinde*, as the lower valley of the Indus is called, led to a brilliant campaign against them undertaken by Sir C. Napier.¹ The subsequent annexation was described as "a very advantageous, useful, and humane piece of rascality", giving, as it did, for the first time the benefits of a strong and honest administration to the inhabitants.

¹ Napier's punning dispatch announcing the conquest of the country—"Peccavi, I have Scinde"—showed his own doubts as to whether hostilities were altogether justified.

Our next war arose as a consequence of the death of the "Lion of the Punjab", as Ranjit Singh was called. He had been careful to keep on good terms with the British Government, but on his death, in 1839, there was no strong man to succeed him. Consequently there came a period of turbulence and anarchy inseparable from a



series of disputed successions. Finally, a military committee became supreme, and proceeded to invade British territory. War therefore became inevitable. The inhabitants of the Punjab were mainly *Sikhs*, who were members of a Hindoo religious sect founded in the fifteenth century; and Ranjit Singh had recruited from amongst these Sikhs an army of some eighty thousand, who have been compared for their steadiness and religious zeal to Cromwell's famous "Ironsides". The two Sikh wars were consequently the most formidable and stubborn that the British had to fight during the whole course of their conquest of India.

In the first war (1845) the British won four pitched battles in three weeks, one of them, that of *Firozshah*, being described as "the most bloody and obstinate contest ever fought by Anglo-Indian troops". That war ended in an unsatisfactory peace, and hostilities soon reopened. In the second war (1848-9) the first battle was at *Chilianwallah*; here the British, though they managed to take the Sikh position, lost two thousand four hundred men killed and wounded, besides four guns and the colours of three regiments. A splendid victory, however, at *Gujerat* five weeks later destroyed the Sikh army. For the first two hours the artillery was used with splendid effect, and then a general advance carried the Sikh position. "We stood two hours in hell," so a Sikh described the battle, "and then we saw six miles of infantry." In both wars the commander-in-chief was *Lord Gough*. No one has ever doubted his bravery and persistence.¹ But his conduct of the war was much attacked at the time. His "Tipperary tactics"—he came from County Tipperary—were condemned as precipitate, and he was too fond of frontal attacks with the bayonet to make sufficient use of flank movements and artillery fire. His last victory was, however, a fine achievement.

The victory at *Gujerat* left the British masters of the Punjab. The country was annexed; and some of the most capable men in India, including Henry and John Lawrence, were sent to govern it. They inaugurated a period of peace and good government, which increased the prosperity and happiness of all the inhabitants. Consequently, when the Mutiny of 1857 broke out, the Punjab remained not merely passively quiescent but actively loyal.

The Second Sikh War had been fought whilst *Lord Dalhousie* was governor-general, and he was responsible for the annexation of the Punjab. But the Punjab was not the only extension of British territory which took place Lord Dalhousie's rule, 1848-56. during his rule of eight years (1848-56). Outrages upon British merchants and insults to the British flag necessitated a fresh war with *Burmah* in 1852, and led to the annexation of *Lower Burmah* and the mouths of the *Irawaddy River*. The misgovern-

¹ "He was as brave", said one of his fellow-officers, "as ten lions each with two sets of teeth and two tails"; and a saying of his, "I never was bated, and never shall be bated" (he spoke with a strong Irish brogue), has been often quoted.

ment of *Oudh* by its rulers had been so scandalous that the East India Company sent orders for its annexation, which Dalhousie carried out in 1856. Moreover, Lord Dalhousie himself was strongly of opinion that the direct rule of the British was much superior to native rule; and he consequently refused, in certain cases, to sanction the old custom by which Hindoo princes who had no children of their own might adopt heirs to succeed them. Thus, when the rulers of *Nagpur* and of *Jhansi*, in Central India, died without direct heirs, their territories "lapsed" to the Company.

So far we have been concerned with the extension of the British control in India, but it must not be supposed that the efforts of British rulers were not directed to bettering the lot of their subjects. On the contrary, especially during the governorship of *Lord William Bentinck* (1828-35) and *Lord Dalhousie* (1848-56), great reforms were made. The former abolished *suttee*, as the compulsory suicide of Hindoo widows on the death of their husbands was called;¹ suppressed the *thugs*, bands of hereditary assassins who roamed about India strangling travellers; encouraged educated natives to take a share in the government; made important financial reforms; and initiated a measure for giving liberty of the press. The latter reorganized the internal administration of India; developed canals; introduced the telegraph, the railway, and cheap postage; and encouraged education. Indeed Lord Dalhousie must be regarded, whether as empire builder or reformer, as one of the greatest of our proconsuls.

Lord Dalhousie's policy, however, was one cause of the Indian Mutiny in 1857. Western reforms mystified and unsettled the Eastern mind, and many natives of India thought that the world was being turned upside down. To them the telegraph was magic, whilst the railway threatened the caste system because people of different castes had to travel together in the same carriage. It was even thought that all British projects of reform had but one design—the destruction of the Hindoo religion. Again, the annexation policy of Lord Dalhousie, though undertaken with the best intentions, had aroused distrust. It was unfortunate, moreover, that *Lord Canning*, Lord Dalhousie's

Social
progress,
1823-56

Causes of
Mutiny
of 1857.

¹ During one year in Bengal alone no less than eight hundred widows were burnt to death.

successor, was not made aware of the peculiar conditions of land tenure in Oudh, and that his subordinates aroused the hostility of the great landowners in that province by a settlement of the land which did the landed aristocracy grievous injustice. Consequently, in the Mutiny, the landowners of Oudh were against the British.

But there were other causes of the Mutiny. It was primarily a mutiny of the Sepoys, and the causes were largely military. The native troops outnumbered the British by eight to one; they thought that the success of the British was due to them, and their opinion of British invincibility had been shaken by the Afghan and subsequently by the Crimean War. Moreover, an old prophecy that the rule of the British would end one hundred years after the Battle of Plassey was not without its effect. The occasion for the Mutiny arose, however, when the Enfield rifle was substituted for "Brown Bess". In those days the soldier had to bite the cartridge with his teeth, and the report spread like wildfire that the cartridges for the new rifle were smeared with the fat of cows and the lard of pigs. The cow was sacred to the Hindoos, whilst the pig was an abomination to the Mohammedans. The story may have had some slight foundation of truth in it.¹ At all events the Sepoys believed it, and the agitators against British rule thus found a ready illustration of the deceitful designs of the British upon the sacred religions of the Indian peoples, and a cry which united the Hindoo and the Mohammedan in a common opposition.

On Sunday afternoon, May 10, 1857, the Mutiny broke out at *Meerut*, where the Sepoys shot their officers and murdered what Europeans they could capture. From Meerut the mutineers streamed to *Delhi*, some 40 miles away, persuaded the native regiments stationed there to join in the rising, and proclaimed the descendant of the old Mogul Emperor, who still lived in the palace at Delhi, as ruler of India. About three weeks later, the Mutiny spread to the garrisons in Oudh and in the Ganges valley. The British position then

Outbreak
of Mutiny,
May, 1857.

¹ The cartridges had to be greased in order to fit into the groove of the barrel. Though the evidence is conflicting, it is probable that some of these cartridges—though they were almost immediately recalled—were smeared, by some mistake, with the ingredients to which objection was taken.

appeared desperate. The districts affected by the Mutiny equalled in area France, Austria, and Prussia put together, and were inhabited by some ninety-four millions of people. The British soldiers in all India numbered only thirty-nine thousand men, and at the opening of the Mutiny there were but three British regiments between Calcutta and Meerut. The revolting Sepoys were in possession of the old capital of Delhi, and had secured a figure-head in the Mogul king; they had shut up one British garrison at Cawnpore and another at Lucknow, the capital of Oudh; and to these three centres the mutineers were flocking from the other garrisons of northern India.

The Indian Mutiny is, perhaps, the most tragic episode in our history. British officers were so confident in the loyalty of their own native regiments that they refused to take precautions, and were pitilessly shot by their men. Many white women and children were barbarously murdered, and the sufferings of the men and women besieged during the intense heat of that Indian midsummer were more fearful than can be imagined. But all

The massacre
of Cawnpore,
July, 1857.

else pales before the horrors of *Cawnpore*. The Europeans there, numbering some two hundred and fifty fighting men, and more than double that number of women, children, and invalids, took refuge in an open plain, defended by small earthworks. For eighteen days in the scorching heat they were exposed to attacks made by thousands of rebels. At the end of that time their position was hopeless, and they accepted the offer of a safe-conduct by boat down the river made by *Nana Sahib*, a prince who had joined the rebels because he had not received from the British Government a pension to which he thought he was entitled. The garrison marched to the river. But when they had embarked, a murderous fire was opened upon them; many were killed or drowned, and of the survivors the men were pursued and butchered save four, who managed to escape, whilst the women and children were captured and imprisoned. A fortnight later *Nana Sahib* gave orders for the slaughter of these prisoners, two hundred and ten in number; the horrible work was done, and the bodies, the dead with the dying, were thrown down a well (July 15).

Never, however, did the British race display more heroic quali-

ties than at this crisis in its history. When the mutineers, at the opening of the Mutiny, reached Delhi, *Lieutenant Willoughby*, with a little garrison of eight men, defended the great magazine of Delhi against hundreds of assailants, and ^{British heroism.} then blew it up so that the mutineers should not gain possession of it. In the Punjab, *John Lawrence*, aided by *Edwardes*, *Chamberlain*, and *John Nicholson*, stamped out with stern and untiring energy the beginnings of mutiny amongst the regiments stationed in that province. A British force of barely four thousand men advanced upon Delhi, won a battle against overwhelming numbers, occupied the famous *Ridge*, which stretched to within three-quarters of a mile of the city walls, and held it against the desperate sorties of the thirty thousand Sepoys who defended the city. *Havelock* and one thousand five hundred men, in an attempt to save Cawnpore, marched in nine days, in an Indian July, one hundred and twenty-six miles, and fought four actions. The garrison in the Residency grounds of Lucknow—its gallant commander, Henry Lawrence, was killed on the second day of the siege—consisted of only a thousand British fighting men and seven hundred loyal Sepoys. It had to defend an enclosure a mile in circumference, made up of detached buildings and gardens connected by palisades and ditches, against an enemy which could bring up artillery within one hundred and fifty yards, and occupy houses within fifteen yards of its defences. Yet for eighty-seven days it successfully held this position against all attempts at storming, and the still greater dangers of mining, made by hugely superior forces.

Yet the heroism of British soldiers must not lead us to forget the services of those natives who were loyal. The native armies of Bombay and Madras remained unaffected by the revolting Sepoys. The native princes, for the most ^{Native loyalty.} part, held aloof from the Mutiny; and some gave the British active assistance, such as the chief of Patiala, who protected the great road running from the Punjab to Delhi. Sepoys fought bravely for us in the Residency at Lucknow, and on the "Ridge" at Delhi. The Guides, for instance, horse and foot, started for Delhi at six hours' notice, and marched "at the hottest season of the year through the hottest region on earth" for twenty-one

days at an average of twenty-seven miles a day. Their bravery in the operations at Delhi, when they lost half their men, and all their British officers were either killed or wounded, was only equalled by that of the Gurkhas. Moreover, even some of the revolting regiments protected their officers and aided them to escape, whilst touching stories are told of the fidelity shown by native servants towards the British women and children.

By the end of *September* the critical period of the Mutiny was over. In the previous month the "Ridge" had been reinforced by a column from the Punjab under John Nicholson. Owing largely to Nicholson's heroism and energy, Delhi was finally stormed on the 14th September, though Nicholson himself was mortally wounded. Five days of street fighting followed before the rebels were completely expelled from the city. Havelock, through no fault of his own, had arrived too late to save Cawnpore, but he and Outram, "the Bayard of India", were able to fight their way to Lucknow and to relieve the garrison (September 25), though they were in turn besieged when they got there. Reinforcements then began to pour in from Great Britain. In *November*, Colin Campbell was able to make a further advance upon Lucknow, and the Residency was again relieved and the troops withdrawn.

It took some time, however, before the Mutiny was finally suppressed. The city of Lucknow was not finally captured till 1858. In the same year a brilliant campaign was carried out by Sir Hugh Rose in Central India, where the Mutiny had spread, and not till the spring of 1859 were hostilities completely at an end. Stern punishment was meted out to those who deserved it, as the tragedies of the Mutiny, and especially of Cawnpore, made it impossible for the British to be altogether merciful. That considerable severity should be shown in revenge was inevitable, but the governor-general, Lord Canning, successfully exerted his influence on behalf of clemency.¹

The Mutiny marks an epoch in Indian history. In the first place, the queen's Government became directly responsible for

¹ He was called "Clemency Canning"—a nickname which was first given in impatience and anger, but remained to be an honour.

viewed with apprehension. The Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907 has, however, relieved the situation. Russia recognized Afghanistan as outside her sphere of influence, and undertook to conduct political negotiations with the Amir only through Great Britain. On the north-east frontier the situation was made more secure, as both Great Britain and Russia undertook not to interfere with the domestic affairs of Thibet or to annex any part of its territory. Great Britain at the same time recognized the special interests of Russia in North Persia, whilst Russia recognized those of Great Britain in the south-east of that country, which included that frontier of Persia which marches with our own Indian frontier.

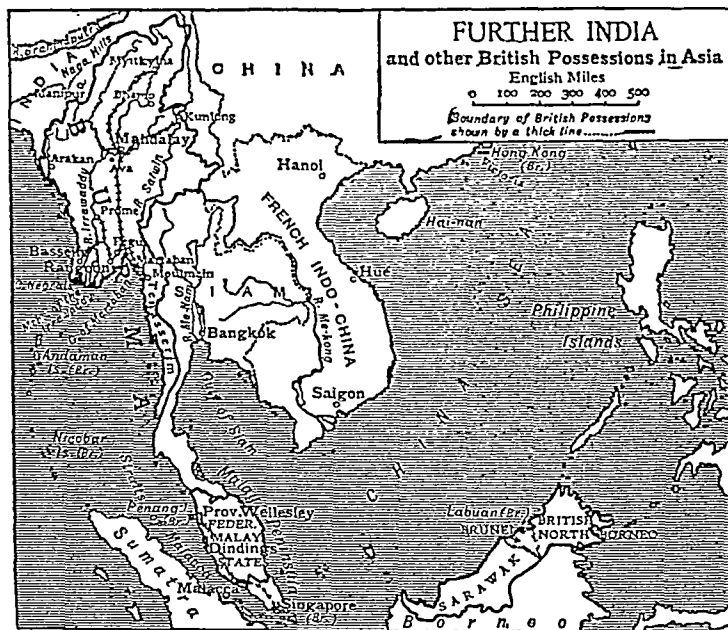
But the easiest access to India is by sea and not by land, and the approaches to India by that element have been carefully guarded. *Aden*, at the mouth of the Red Sea, be-
The defences of India. longs to Great Britain, and the purchase of the Suez Canal shares by Disraeli (see p. 674) has given Great Britain a large control over that canal. In the *Persian Gulf* the position of Great Britain has long been dominant. It was Great Britain who made the gulf safe for commerce, and she has made treaties with the tribes that border its shores.

Meantime since the Mutiny the land frontier of India has been extended. The *Second Afghan War* led to the annexation of Quetta and other districts in the south-east of
Extension of Indian Empire since 1857. Afghanistan. A *Third Burmese War* was forced upon Great Britain in 1885, and led to the annexation of Upper Burmah. Gradually, moreover, our suzerainty was proclaimed over the tribes in the north-west, which live in the hills between the plains of India and the frontier of Afghanistan. In 1893 our supremacy over them was recognized by Afghanistan, but, except in certain districts, we have left the tribesmen to govern or misgovern themselves. As with the Highlanders of old, plunder is the romance of their lives; and to rob and kill one another, and to combine in making raids upon the neighbouring plains, has been their main occupation for generations. The raids which they have made, besides the more dangerous combinations that have been organized under the influence of fanatical Mohammedan priests, have necessitated various expedi-

tions, such as those of *Chitral* (1895) and *Tirah* (1897), and the campaign against the *Zakka Khels* and the *Mohmands* in 1908.

But the main energies of British statesmen in India since the Mutiny have been occupied in promoting the welfare of the two hundred and thirty millions of people under their own immediate control, as well as keeping in touch with the six hundred rulers of native States who govern, "under

Social progress
since 1859.



undefined and undefinable British control", sixty millions of subjects. The British in India have developed what is, in some respects, the most efficient, and, so far as its higher branches at all events are concerned, one of the least corrupt administrations in the world. They have secured internal peace, and fought, as far as human agency is able to fight, against the twin horrors of India, the plague and the famine. They have built railways and canals. They have organized a most efficient medical service, and they have encouraged education.

The awakening of the East, however, has affected India as well as other countries. The movements in Japan and in China, in Persia and in Turkey, have not been without their influence upon India. It is natural that the educated natives in India, who still of course form but a tiny fraction of the population, should, as a result of the education on Western lines provided for them by their British governors, wish to have more self-government. Consequently there has been of recent years a certain unrest in India, as well as some seditious movements. This desire for a greater share in the government has been realized by the British nation. Natives of India, who have always filled almost exclusively the lower branches of the administration, have been admitted to the higher branches as well, and legislative councils have been set up. Under Lord Minto and Lord Morley's administration of India (1906-10),¹ further changes have been made. A larger elective element has been introduced into the viceroy's legislative council, which has been increased in numbers, whilst legislative councils have also been extended to every province, and their powers have been developed. Finally, two natives of India have been nominated to sit on the secretary of state's Indian council in London, whilst one native is henceforth to be a member of the viceroy's executive council in India.

Great Britain has accomplished, in the opinion of a French historian, one miracle in uniting Hindoos and Mohammedans, Sikhs and Bengalis, Parsees and Christians, under one sceptre; whether she will ever be able to accomplish another miracle by combining, in an Eastern country, the two ideals of good government and self-government remains to be seen. But what the future relations may be between Great Britain and the Indian peoples no one can prophesy. At the beginning of the twentieth century the haunting questions which, according to a recent viceroy, British statesmen have always before them remain still unanswered—what is in the heart of these sombre millions in India? whither are we leading them? what is it all to come to? where is the goal?

¹ Lord Minto as viceroy in India, and Lord Morley as secretary of state in England.

LI. The Self-governing Colonies and their History

(1871) up to 1861.

We turn from India, the scene of one of the most benevolent and efficient despotisms in the world's history, to a unique product of the British Empire—the *Self-Governing Colony*. The problem that Great Britain had to solve in the nineteenth century was a difficult one. How was a colony "to be a daughter in her mother's house and be a mistress in her own"? How was Great Britain to give to her colonies the control over their own affairs, and yet preserve any connection with them? To British statesmen, both Whigs and Tories, these two objects for long appeared, in the words of the Duke of Wellington, "completely incompatible". In Canada, however, a solution was at last achieved, and we must now trace briefly how this was accomplished.

The problem
of self-
government.

1. Canada and Newfoundland

It may be remembered that Canada, by an Act passed in 1791, was divided into two provinces, an Upper and a Lower, each possessing a governor who was nominated by the British ministry, a legislative council nominated by the British governor, and an elected assembly. Soon after 1815 discontent with this form of government began to develop, for the assembly had no control over the expenditure of the ministry, and, not unnaturally, desired it. The situation was aggravated owing to the fact that in Upper Canada the offices of state were monopolized by a few families, whilst in Lower Canada there was constant friction between the French and the British colonists, who were, it was said, so hostile to one another "that they only met in the jury-box, and then only to the utter obstruction of justice". The discontent came to a head in 1837, just after Queen Victoria's accession.¹ In that year there were in both provinces small rebel-

The Canadian
rebellion, 1837.

¹ When the *Te Deum* for Queen Victoria's accession was sung, many of the congregation in Lower Canada walked out.

lions, which, however, were put down without difficulty. But the country was full of unrest, and it seemed, in the words of Peel, that "another Ireland might grow up in every colony which Great Britain possessed".

In 1838, however, *Lord Durham* was sent out with full powers to deal with the situation.¹ Lord Durham, it has been said, was

the first British statesman since Chatham who recognized the latent possibilities of the empire, and he was long enough in Canada to be able to issue a

report which marks an epoch in the history of our colonial policy.

In that report he advocated, first, the grant to the colonial assembly of full control in nearly all internal affairs; and secondly, the union of the two provinces of Upper and Lower Canada. His second proposal was adopted first; and in 1841 these two provinces were joined, and a new constitution drawn up. But Canada did not have to wait long for responsible government; for in 1847 *Lord Elgin*, Lord Durham's son-in-law, was made governor. He adopted the same position for himself as that which the monarch occupied in the mother country; that is to say, he left to a ministry dependent upon a majority in the popular assembly the responsibility for the conduct of affairs, whilst reserving to himself the right to give advice, and in times of crisis to intervene. With Lord Elgin's seven years' governorship of Canada the self-governing colony became an accomplished fact, and before long the other colonies achieved the same measure of independence.

Upper and Lower Canada were united; but it still remained for these two provinces to be federated, first with the maritime provinces to the east, and then with the great territories to the west and north, which had yet to be developed. The former was accomplished on July 1, 1867, when the Dominion of Canada was created, federating *Ontario* and *Quebec*, as the old Upper and Lower Provinces were called, with *Nova Scotia* and *New Brunswick*. The latter came by slow degrees as the north-west was opened up. In 1870 Canada purchased the vast territories of the Hudson Bay

The Dominion of Canada (1867) and its growth.

¹ His somewhat high-handed action, however, in deporting to Bermuda eight of the leaders of the recent rebellion, without any form of trial, led to a storm of indignation in England, and to his own resignation after a bare five months' residence in Canada.

Company, and formed out of part of them the province of *Manitoba*, whilst a year later *British Columbia* was added to the Dominion; and in 1905 *Alberta* and *Saskatchewan* were created.¹ Into the wonderful development of Canada during recent years it is not our province to enter. The resources of Canada, first perhaps realized owing to the building in the eighties of the Canadian Pacific Railway, offer opportunities of almost illimitable expansion, and of late years the expansion has been proceeding at so rapid a pace that the Dominion of Canada seems destined before long to rival, in population and wealth, its great neighbour the United States.

The United States had failed to conquer Canada or to detach her from her allegiance to Great Britain both in 1775 and in 1812; but many Canadians are, rightly or wrongly, of opinion that the supineness and weakness of British statesmen enabled this neighbour unduly to curtail Canadian boundaries. There were three important frontier disputes. The first, which affected Canada's frontiers in the east, was settled by the *Ashburton Treaty* of 1842, which recognized the claims of the United States to a wedge of territory between New Brunswick and Quebec. The second concerned the Far West, and was the subject of a compromise in 1846, the United States keeping Oregon, whilst British Columbia and Vancouver were retained for the British Empire. The third concerned the boundary of *Alaska*, which the United States had purchased from Russia. The matter was in 1903 referred to arbitration, and the decision on the whole favoured the American claims, for the sea boundary flanking the Yukon territories—which belonged to Canada and are now important because of the gold-fields—was awarded to the United States.

Frontier
disputes
with United
States.

2. Australia and New Zealand

A distinguished historian has said that just as the great fact in the history of England during the eighteenth century was the rise of the United States, so the great fact in the history of Eng-

¹ Newfoundland obtained self-government in 1855, but has preferred to remain politically unattached to the Dominion.

land in the nineteenth century was the progress of Australia. And certainly that progress has been extraordinary. A Spanish admiral

Early settle-
ments in
Australia.

in 1606 was, perhaps, the first European to sight the coast of Australia.¹ In the course of the same century

Dutch seamen explored its western shore and also discovered Tasmania, whilst at the end of it came the voyage of the famous English buccaneer, Captain Dampier. But not till 1770, when Captain Cook, after exploring New Zealand, sailed along 2000 miles of the more fertile east coast, were its possibilities for European settlement realized.² Eighteen years later, in 1788—the year before the French revolution broke out—the first British expedition arrived at Port Jackson and laid the foundation of the colony of New South Wales. Some of the early settlers were prisoners transported by the British Government; but it must be remembered that in those days the penal code was very severe (p. 607), and many persons were transported for the most trivial offences, whilst others were political prisoners whose views were too advanced for the Government of that day; and before long, moreover, what undesirable elements existed were completely swamped by the number of free settlers who arrived. The colony, like other colonies, had its initial difficulties; but in 1797, Macarthur, by buying at the Cape some of the merino sheep which the King of Spain had presented to the Dutch Government, laid the foundation of the gigantic wool industry of Australia; whilst, later on, various discoveries enabled the colony to develop beyond the Blue Mountains, which at first seemed definitely to check its progress westward.

Gradually other colonies were formed out of the original territories of New South Wales. In Tasmania the first settlement was made in 1803. South Australia, as its capital, Adelaide, suggests, was founded in the reign of William IV. Victoria, whose capital, Melbourne, seems to perpetuate the happy connection of the queen and her first prime

Growth of
Australian
colonies.

¹ His name was de Torres, and he sailed through the straits which bear his name. But of course he no more realized that he had discovered Australia than Columbus realized that he had discovered America, and the strait was not called after him till the end of the eighteenth century.

² Cook, the son of an agricultural labourer, first came into notice through his successful pilotage of the British fleet up the St. Lawrence in 1759 (p. 472). His primary duty in his famous expedition was astronomical—to observe the transit of Venus in the Pacific—and this being accomplished he proceeded on his famous voyage of discovery.

minister, became a separate colony in 1851; and Queensland followed suit eight years later. Meantime the first settlement was made in the west in 1829, and developed into the colony of West Australia. In the early fifties came the discoveries of gold in New South Wales and Victoria, which led to an enormous immigration; and this was very shortly followed by the grant of self-government to nearly all the colonies (1855). To describe the later development of Australia requires a book to itself, and all we can note is that in 1900 the various provinces were federated together and became the Commonwealth of Australia.

The two islands of Zealand were annexed by Great Britain in 1840. There were severe hostilities for some time with the natives, the *Maoris*, who fought cleverly and bravely behind their fortified stockades. The country has New Zealand. prospered as a British colony, and self-government was granted to it in 1855, and fifty years later it became the Dominion of New Zealand. In its government and policy it is perhaps the most democratic of all the colonies in the British Empire.

3. South Africa

From the Dominion of New Zealand we turn to the most recently united of our colonies, to South Africa. Neither the poet nor the historian has yet arisen to do justice to its varied and romantic story. But the Union of South Africa, achieved in 1909, marks the end of a period during which South Africa, to a degree perhaps unexampled in the annals of any other country, has been "the sport of circumstance", and enables the historian to survey that story with a more impartial mind than was perhaps previously possible.

The *Cape of Good Hope* was first discovered by the Portuguese in 1486. At first it was regarded merely as a port of call on the way to the Far East, and it was chiefly because of its value as a halfway house to its Eastern possessions that the Dutch established a station there in 1652. The Dutch, however, then began to settle in Cape Colony, and at the close of the seventeenth century these Dutch settlers were reinforced by Huguenot exiles from France. In the last years of the

eighteenth century, when Holland was occupied by the French, Great Britain captured and held Cape Colony, but she gave it back at the Peace of Amiens in 1802. Later on, however, Great Britain recaptured it, and in 1814 her title was formally recognized, on a certain sum being paid for its purchase.

In order to make the complicated story of South Africa subsequent to 1815 clearer, three points should be borne in mind. In Position after 1815. the first place, Great Britain for some time, like Holland in former years, regarded the Cape chiefly as a halfway house to India, as a place where ships bound for India could obtain water and victuals. She was jealous of retaining exclusive control over the sea borders of South Africa, but she was extremely reluctant to increase her territory or her responsibilities in the interior; she was anxious, indeed, to draw in the horns of Empire rather than to extend them.

Secondly, the Dutch at the Cape, or *Boers* as they came to be called, had altered little in character since their first settlement in the country. Upon them, as with the Puritans of the seventeenth century in England, whom indeed they resembled in many respects, it was the teaching in the Old Testament rather than that in the New that had the greater hold. They had the same intense conviction as the Puritans that God was with them in all their decisions, and the supreme self-confidence and self-righteousness that such a conviction engendered. (And the rugged, obstinate, simple Boer farmer, incurably suspicious of everything new, and ardently tenacious of his rights, had little in common with the eager sympathies, progressive ideas, and, it must be added, the somewhat ignorant sentimentality which characterized a large portion of the British public during the nineteenth century.)

Thirdly, there was an enormous coloured and semi-barbarous population in South Africa; part belonged to the Hottentot race, but the great majority of tribes, such as the Kaffirs, Zulus, and Basutos, belonged to the race of the *Bantus*. Even at the present time, in the territories comprising the Union of South Africa, the Kaffirs outnumber the people of European descent by six to one, and, of course, a hundred years previous to the Union the disproportion was much greater, the total number of Europeans in South Africa in 1815 being only some thirty thousand.

It was the native question which first produced friction between Boer and Briton. Allusion has already been made to the growth of humanitarian sentiments in Great Britain during the nineteenth century. It was natural that these sentiments should affect the opinion of Great Britain as to the relations which ought to exist between the white and coloured races. Gradually it was felt that slavery and the slave trade could continue no longer in British territories. Great Britain, owing largely to the influence of Wilberforce, had made a beginning, in 1807, by prohibiting the slave trade, the horrors of which it is impossible to exaggerate; and at the Congress of Vienna (1814) she had persuaded the other European nations to follow her example. In 1833 Great Britain went a step further and prohibited slavery in the British dominions. The British planters in the *West Indies* were the chief people affected by this law. They had hitherto depended upon the slaves who had been exported at various times from Africa for the working of the sugar plantations. To compensate them for their loss a sum of twenty millions was voted to them by the British Parliament. At the same time the slaves were to remain for a period of years as apprentices to their old masters. But the apprentice system was a failure, and led to the complete emancipation of the slaves in 1838. There was considerable friction between the Jamaican planters and the British ministry over this and other questions, which finally led to the suspension of the Jamaican constitution (1839).

But the Dutch at the Cape also possessed slaves, chiefly imported from the Malay States and parts of Africa, and they were affected by the law of 1833. They received compensation, it is true, but only to about one-third of the real value of their slaves. The abolition of slavery, however, did not so much rankle in the Dutch mind as the conferment, five years previously, in 1828, upon the native races in Cape Colony of the same political rights as Europeans possessed. The natives were regarded by the Boers as belonging to an inferior race, and so destined to be for all time hewers of wood and drawers of water for the white race. Besides, their numbers and turbulence made them a constant source of danger

The abolition
of slavery, 1833.

The native
question at
the Cape.

to the colonists, and the Boer treatment of them, though perhaps not often unjust, was not tempered with much mercy. Many people in Great Britain, on the other hand, looked upon the natives as peaceful tribes persistently bullied by the Boers, a belief due in a large measure to the reports of British missionaries in South Africa.

It was this difference in view, besides other smaller grievances, that led, in 1836, to what is known as the *Great Trek*. A large number of Boers, with their wives and children, their rifles and their Bibles, their oxen and wagons, left Cape Colony and went north and east to seek some place where they would be left in peace to do as they pleased. In ten years' time it is said that as many thousands of people departed from British territory. Some went across the mountains into *Natal*, in which district a few British emigrants had already settled; but when the Boers tried to reach the sea coast the British Government was alarmed, and in 1843 Natal was annexed to the Empire. The Boers resisted, and on their failure many left the colony. In the years to come Natal was settled chiefly by British colonists, and became predominantly British in race and sentiment. Other Boers settled in the land between the Orange and the Vaal rivers. After a time this was also annexed by Great Britain, but in 1854 the independence of the Boers in that country was recognized by Great Britain, and the land became known as the *Orange Free State*, having its capital at Bloemfontein. Other Boers, again, went even farther north beyond the Vaal River, and their independence was also recognized, in 1852, by Great Britain under what is known as the Sand River Convention. The country which they inhabited was called the *Transvaal*, and its capital, before long, was Pretoria.

The Boers in the Transvaal and the Orange Free State fondly hoped that they were free from British interference; and indeed the British Government had no desire for any responsibility beyond the Orange River. Circumstances, however, forced the British boundary forward. Hostilities between the Orange Free State and the Basutos caused the British Government to declare *Basutoland* a British protectorate in 1868. The discovery of diamonds near what is now known as

The Great Trek, 1836.

Basutoland and Kimberley.



Kimberley, led to an enormous rush of people, chiefly of British origin, and the British Government, to preserve order and protect the interests of their own subjects, annexed the whole country round *Kimberley*, to the great disappointment of the two Republics, who thought they had a better claim to it (1871).

Meantime, in Cape Colony itself considerable progress had been made. About 1820 a great many British immigrants arrived, and settled, for the most part, in the eastern part of the colony round *Grahamstown*. Periodic hostilities with the Kaffirs—there were no less than five wars between 1815 and 1878—led to the territories of Cape Colony being extended up to the Orange River. As the colony prospered, both Dutch and British colonists demanded more control of the government; they obtained partial control in the fifties, while in 1872 Cape Colony became self-governing.

(The thirty-two years preceding the Union of South Africa, from 1877 to 1909, have been years crowded with incidents, and these have been the subject of such acute controversy that it is difficult to explain them clearly in brief outline. The first of these incidents was the annexation of the Transvaal in 1877.) The Transvaal had not prospered since its independence had been recognized. Divided leaders and an empty exchequer had paralysed its government. Its weakness had become a danger to the whole European population in South Africa, more especially as it was on the verge of war with the natives on its boundaries, and such a war, if successful for the natives, as it might have been, would have unsettled all the tribes elsewhere. Under these circumstances a British commissioner, who had been sent out with full powers, decided to annex the Transvaal to the British dominions, and his decision was supported by the Home Government.

This annexation had two effects. In the first place, it angered the Zulus who bordered on the Transvaal. They had been organized by *Cetewayo*, and possessed forty thousand warriors, and they had hoped to invade the Transvaal. The relations between the British and Zulus had hitherto been friendly; but, in the imagery of the latter, the English cow, as the result of the annexation, had neglected her own calf—Zululand,

Progress of
Cape Colony,
1815-72.

Annexation of
Transvaal, 1877.

Zulu War,
1879.

and was giving milk to a strange calf—the Transvaal. Various disputes led finally to war in 1879. The British suffered a disaster at Isandhlwana, where a detached force was surrounded and killed almost to a man; but this was followed by a British victory at Ulundi and the capture of Cetewayo, which led to the submission of the Zulus.

The second result of the annexation was the rising of the Transvaal Boers. The great majority had been opposed to the incorporation of the Transvaal in the British dominions, but it is improbable that any rising would have taken place if the British Government had carried out its expressed intention of granting self-government. Instead of that, both the ministry of Disraeli and that of Gladstone, which succeeded it, pursued a policy of what has well been termed “loitering unwisdom”, and nothing was done. Then suddenly, in 1881, the Boers rose. The British commander, Sir George Colley, had only been in the country five months, and with a “scratch” force of one thousand two hundred men had to attempt the release of some isolated garrisons in the Transvaal. He underestimated the fighting capacity of the Boers and the strength of their position near *Laing’s Nek*, and he was repulsed in two attempts to dislodge them. Then came the crowning disaster. The Boers, attacking in their turn, stormed *Majuba Hill*, a hill with a top like a saucer, the rim of which was held by part of the British forces; they forced the British back from the rim into the basin below, with the result that Colley himself was killed, and the defenders of the hill either shared his fate or were taken prisoners.

The First
Boer War,
1881.

Just before Majuba, Gladstone’s Government had been negotiating for a settlement with the Boers; it continued to negotiate after this disaster, and finally agreed to recognize the independence of the Boers, though they were to be under British suzerainty (1881). Whether Gladstone’s ministry was right in this policy has been matter of fierce dispute. It has been urged in its defence that it was bound to continue the negotiations begun before Majuba was fought, and to carry them, if possible, to a successful issue. On the other hand, the fact remains that Gladstone’s ministry, on entering office, had resolved to maintain the annexation; and the abandonment of this policy

Boer independence
recognized, 1881.

a few months later, after three British reverses, led the Boers to believe that their independence was won by force of arms and to belittle the fighting powers of the British race.

Three years later, in 1884, the British Government, at the urgent request of the Boers, dropped the title of "suzerain power" and accorded to the Transvaal the title of *South African Republic*, though it preserved a veto on all treaties which the republic might make with foreign powers, and insisted on freedom of trade and residence for all Europeans (1884). By the same convention the boundaries of the Transvaal were strictly defined. But *Paul Krüger*, who as a boy of ten had taken part in the Great Trek, and was now president of the republic, had visions of a Boer Empire, which might dominate South Africa. Fortunately, however, for Great Britain, an Englishman who had settled in South Africa, *Cecil Rhodes*, had still wider visions of an empire under the British flag, which might match the mighty Dominion of Canada on the other side of the Atlantic. Largely through his efforts the successive attempts of the Transvaal Republic to extend its sway were foiled. Thus the republic's aggression in the west led the British Government to declare *Bechuanaland* a British protectorate in 1885; her activity was checked in the east by the British annexation of *Zululand* in 1887, and in the north by the creation in 1889 of the British South Africa Company, which obtained the control of the country now known as *Rhodesia*.

Meanwhile the internal conditions in the Transvaal had been entirely altered by the discovery of the goldfields in 1886. The goldfields discovered, 1886. People swarmed into the republic, and the town of Johannesburg sprang into being. In a few years the newcomers outnumbered the Boers. What was to happen? The policy of President Krüger was uncompromising. He imposed various restrictions which hampered the development of the mines, and, at the same time, proceeded to extract from their produce nineteen-twentieths of the taxes which he desired for the administration of the republic. Moreover, by various laws, he practically excluded the newcomers from having a vote or any share in the political control of the country.

The situation, there is no doubt, was an exceedingly diffi-

cult one. Between the old-fashioned, conservative, slow-moving Boer farmers in the country, and the bustling, active, somewhat cosmopolitan European gold hunters who lived in the town—*Uitlanders* as they were called—there could be little sympathy. It was natural that the former should be apprehensive of their nationality being stifled by the ever-increasing invasion of the newcomers, and should oppose any concession to them. On the other hand, it was impossible that educated Europeans, who formed a majority of the population and possessed more than half the land and nine-tenths of the wealth, should remain in the position of "helots", subject to the caprice of a government over which they had no control, and which was, in addition, notoriously corrupt. The Uitlanders.

In 1895 matters came to a head. Preparations were made for an armed rebellion. Cecil Rhodes, who was premier of Cape Colony, supported the movement. He felt that the position of the *Uitlanders* was intolerable. More-
The Jameson raid, 1895. over, Krüger's policy blocked his great scheme of uniting South Africa; for Krüger tried to detach the republic commercially from the other states in South Africa by favouring in all possible ways the railway to the Portuguese harbour of Delagoa Bay, thereby rousing great resentment in Cape Colony and Natal. But the movement for rebellion ended in a complete fiasco; its leaders could not agree as to the best policy to be pursued, and gave up the idea. Dr. Jameson, however, who had collected some six hundred horsemen on the eastern frontier of the Transvaal, audaciously invaded the republic at the end of 1895, and had ignominiously to surrender with all his men four days later.

The *Jameson raid* had evil consequences. It led to Rhodes resigning the premiership of Cape Colony—in Rhodes's own words, "it upset his apple-cart"; it embittered feeling between Dutch and British throughout South Africa; it encouraged President Krüger to make elaborate preparations for war; and the collapse of the raid caused the German emperor to send a telegram of congratulation to Krüger which aroused great resentment in Great Britain. Moreover, as the result of the raid, the lot of the *Uitlanders* became harder instead of easier, and the prospect of remedying the grievances by peaceful means more remote.

But Mr. Chamberlain, the British secretary of state for the colonies, and Sir Alfred (afterwards Lord) Milner, the British high commissioner at the Cape, were determined that something must be done. Protracted negotiations with Krüger led to no result, and war became inevitable. In October, 1899, Krüger issued an ultimatum, and shortly afterwards war was declared. The Orange Free State threw in its lot with the South African Republic, and Great Britain found herself involved in a formidable struggle, a struggle upon which depended not merely the future political privileges of the Uitlanders, but the existence of the British Empire in South Africa.

It is perhaps not a matter for surprise that the initial successes in the South African War should have gone to the Boers.

The South African War, 1899-1902. They had made secret preparations for some time, whilst the British arrangements were incomplete.

The Boers were all born fighters, campaigning in a country the conditions of which were familiar to them, and they possessed a mobility, through all being mounted on hardy ponies, which made them for some time extremely baffling foes for the British forces. Consequently, one Boer force was able to invade Natal and to shut up the British commander, Sir George White, in *Ladysmith*; another invested Kimberley, while a third crossed the Orange River and invaded Cape Colony. The British misfortunes culminated in the *Black Week* of December, 1899, when three reverses were suffered in six days. In Natal, Sir Redvers Buller, trying to cross the *Tugela River* in order to relieve Ladysmith, was repulsed, losing ten guns and nearly one thousand men killed and wounded. In the west, Lord Methuen attempted a night attack on the Boer position at *Magersfontein*, which barred the way to Kimberley, and failed, the Highland regiments suffering most severely. In Cape Colony, a night march made by Gatacre, with intent to surprise the enemy, resulted instead in the surprise and defeat of the British at Stormberg.

The Boers, however, had made three miscalculations. In the first place, they expected that the Dutch in Cape Colony would join them; but though a certain number did so, the great majority remained neutral. Secondly, they relied on assistance

from European powers; but though the sympathies of European peoples, perhaps not unnaturally, were strongly with the Boers, the incontestable superiority of the British navy made any armed intervention too hazardous ^{Boer mis-}calculations. for any European Government to attempt it. Thirdly, previous experience had caused the Boers to belittle the fighting capacity of the British race and the determination of British statesmen. But Great Britain felt she was on her trial. Regulars and volunteers, militia and yeomanry, were poured into South Africa from Great Britain. The Uitlanders and British in various parts of South Africa formed themselves into corps which did invaluable service. Most significant of all, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand sent volunteer regiments to aid the mother country. By the end of 1900 Great Britain had more than a quarter of a million of armed men in South Africa. Moreover, Great Britain's two most trusted soldiers, *Lord Roberts* and *Lord Kitchener*, were sent out as commander-in-chief and chief of the staff.

The clouds then soon lifted. Lord Roberts relieved Kimberley, and captured at *Paardeberg*, in February, 1900, the Boer force under Cronjé, which had previously barred the way, and was then trying to escape. The day follow- ^{British successes.} ing Cronjé's capture, Ladysmith was at last, after various unsuccessful attempts, relieved by Buller. Lord Roberts occupied Bloemfontein in March and Pretoria in June, and both republics, of which these two places were the capitals, were then annexed to Great Britain.

But the Boers held on with grim tenacity. They had, both before and after the capture of their two capitals, harassed Lord Roberts's communications, captured some of his supplies, and won various small successes. The ^{Boer tenacity.} Boers were excellent guerrilla fighters; their generals, *Botha* and *De Wet*, were ubiquitous; whilst the ex-president of the Orange Free State, *Steyn*, inspired the Boers with his own untiring zeal. Lord Roberts left South Africa in November, 1900, and then Lord Kitchener, his successor, gradually wore the Boer resistance down. Finally, in June, 1902, peace was made. By its terms the two republics were formally annexed to Great Britain; but the Dutch language was allowed in schools and courts of justice;

the question of granting the natives a vote was left to each state to deal with;¹ and self-government was to be granted as soon as circumstances would permit.

Excluding those who died from disease, a not inconsiderable number, the British had lost six thousand lives and the Boers four thousand in the fighting, and the war had cost the British nation £200,000,000 in money. But the war had preserved South Africa for the British flag, and it made possible its subsequent union. No power could have acted with greater generosity than Great Britain did after the war. She spent five millions of her own money in resettling the Boers on their own lands, and she pledged her credit for loans amounting to forty millions to assist her new colonies, whilst Lord Milner for nearly three years supervised their reconstruction. At the end of that time representative government was introduced, followed by the grant of full self-government in 1906, only four and a half years after the end of the war—an experiment which, though apparently rash, has been wonderfully justified by its success.

Meanwhile the movement for the union of the South African States grew quickly. A national convention to consider its practicability began to sit in 1908, and concluded its labours in 1909. A wise spirit of compromise and toleration pervaded all parties and overcame all difficulties. *General Botha* was selected by the governor, Lord Gladstone (Mr. Gladstone's son), as the first prime minister, and in October, 1910, the new *Parliament of South Africa*, representing the Transvaal and the Orange River Colonies, Cape Colony, and Natal, was formally opened by the Duke of Connaught—not the least remarkable of the many remarkable events in South Africa during the past century.

We have dealt with the story of the self-governing colonies, and a word may be said in conclusion as to their present constitutions and their relations to the mother country. Each of the five dominions—Canada, Newfoundland, Australia, New

¹ It has been settled in the negative.

Zealand, and South Africa—has a Parliament consisting of two houses: the popular chamber, upon whose support the ministry is dependent, and which has the chief control in finance; and the other, called a Senate or Council, consisting either of nominated or of elected members.

The colonies
and their
government.

Every law has to be passed through both these assemblies. The degree of power allowed to the provinces composing Canada, Australia, and South Africa respectively varies; in Australia the provinces are given a great deal of independence, in Canada and South Africa not very much. With regard to their relations to Great Britain, each of the self-governing colonies has a Governor appointed by the Crown. He plays a part in each colony similar to that played by the sovereign in Great Britain. He selects the prime minister and acts as adviser in times of crisis; in addition to this he has the power of vetoing laws or of referring them to the British Government, though he would only do so if he held that they conflicted with imperial interests.

Various attempts have been made of late years to bring the colonies and the mother country closer together. The first Colonial Conference was held in 1887, and others followed at intervals. They were attended by the prime ministers of the various colonies and by representatives of India. In future these conferences—Imperial Conferences, as they are to be called—are to be held every four years, the prime minister of Great Britain being the ex-officio president.¹ Moreover, a special conference dealing with imperial defence was held in 1909, whilst many people hope that a system of preferential tariffs may yet more closely unite the colonies and the mother country.

The British Empire in 1911 had a population of some four hundred and ten millions. It included twelve and a half million square miles, or, in other words, it was ninety-one times the size of Great Britain and Ireland, and thrice the size of Europe. It comprised one-fifth of the world's surface and over one-fifth of its inhabitants; and it possessed, it is said, nearly ten thousand islands and two thousand rivers. It has helped to develop Great Britain's enormous prosperity; but it has also brought upon Great Britain vast responsibilities. The

The British
Empire, 1911.

¹ The first of these "Imperial Conferences" was held in 1911.

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problems of the future, the problems of trade and of defence, the many problems connected with the government of the coloured races, are difficult of solution, but we may hope that the Empire's future leaders may possess sufficient foresight and statesmanship to deal wisely and patiently with them. The change that has come over the British race in its attitude towards its huge possessions makes it certain at any rate that Great Britain will not in the future be guilty either of indifference or want of sympathy in dealing with the manifold difficulties that lie before her in governing the vastest and most beneficent empire yet known to history.

THE
GROUNDWORK OF THE WAR

PREFACE

This sketch, which I have entitled "The Groundwork of the War", carries the History down to 1921. It is of course mainly concerned with the causes, course, and results of the War.

The events of the War are still so close to us that it is difficult to see them in their right proportion. For that reason the account of the War is, in length, somewhat disproportionate to the rest of the work. Moreover, the difficulty of writing any History of the War as part of British History is that any account of it must be unintelligible unless sufficient emphasis is laid upon the efforts of our Allies. The History of Great Britain, at any rate from 1914-21, must be intimately associated with World-history; and the causes of the War cannot be really understood without some knowledge of European history since 1871. An attempt has accordingly been made to give an account of the period as a whole, including a brief outline of the relations of European nations since 1871, though the details given are mainly those which are concerned with British efforts and interests.

I desire to convey my thanks to my colleague Mr. R. S. de Havilland, with whom I visited the battle-lines from Ypres to Verdun soon after the war was over, and who has kindly read through the proof-sheets.

C. H. K. MARTEN.

The Groundwork of the War

I. The Armed Peace, 1871-1914

The history of war and peace for the half-century after the Battle of Waterloo falls into two divisions; first, from 1815-54 a period of peace; then from 1854-71 a period of warfare. In 1871 the period of warfare came to an end and another period of peace began; but it was an uneasy peace for a great part of the time, with nations steadily increasing their armaments and preparations for fear of war. The years from 1871-1914 were a period indeed of peace, but of "Armed Peace". And in 1914 began the Great War which has not yet (1921) led to the universal peace so earnestly desired by mankind.¹

The most striking feature in Europe during these years was the position of the House of *Hohenzollern*. This house, securing in 1415 the Mark or Electorate of Brandenburg, had added Prussia at the beginning of the seventeenth century, and had then steadily increased its possessions chiefly by war—for "war", as a French statesman once said, "was the chief industry of Prussia". Thus, *Frederick the Great* (1740-86), King of Prussia, had added Silesia and part of Poland; and in

¹ Of course the peace periods are only so called because free from great European wars; for between 1815-54 occurred the Greek War of Independence (p. 652) and the various military operations in connection with the revolutions in 1848 (p. 658); whilst from 1871-1914 came the Russo-Turkish War of 1877 (p. 671), the Spanish-American War of 1898, the South African War of 1899 (p. 712), the Russo-Japanese War of 1904, and the Balkan Wars of 1912-14.

1815, after the Napoleonic Wars, large territories were acquired on the Rhine. Then *Bismarck* became, in 1862, Chief Minister of Prussia; and in the first nine years of his rule had fought wars with Denmark, then Austria, and finally France, the last one with the help of other German states (pp. 667-70). We have already seen how, as a result of these wars, Germany through Bismarck's "Blood and Iron" policy was welded into unity. Germany was now, in 1871, a confederation of thirty-eight states. But the King of Prussia was ruler of lands bigger and more populous than those of all the other German princes put together; and to him was given the title of German Emperor. The House of Hohenzollern was now not only far the most important ruling House in Germany, but aspired to be the most important ruling House in Europe.

Germany was now the strongest military power in Europe; and in Bismarck, her first Chancellor, she possessed the foremost statesman.¹ But Bismarck in 1871 regarded Germany for the moment as a "satiated State". Germany had secured Alsace-Lorraine; she had many internal problems to solve; and her trade and industry, which began to make the most prodigious advances, needed a period of quiet for their expansion. Hence Bismarck desired peace; and his policy was chiefly to keep France "without friends and without allies". With that object in view, he succeeded in keeping on friendly terms with Russia and Great Britain, and in making with Austria in 1879 a *Dual Alliance*; whilst in 1882 came the famous *Triple Alliance* of Germany,

¹ Bismarck was, in his youth, a typical product of the old Brandenburg Junker Class or landlord aristocracy. At the university he consumed large quantities of beer, and fought twenty-six duels; and in his early political life he achieved prominence in the revolutions of 1848 by the violence of his reactionary and monarchical opinions. He became Chief Minister of the King of Prussia in 1862 during a constitutional crisis when the King wanted the army to be increased and the Parliament did not. Bismarck was uncompromising. "The great questions of the day," he said, "are decided not by speeches nor by votes of majorities, but by Blood and Iron." Hence he levied the taxes for four years without passing a budget through Parliament, stopped hostile meetings, and further controlled the liberty of the press. But his success in the three wars referred to made him the idol of the Prussian Kingdom; and was soon to make him the idol of Germany. Here is Disraeli's description of him at the Congress of Berlin in 1878: "He is 6 ft. 4 in., proportionately stout, with a sweet and gentle voice which singularly and strangely contrasts with the awful things he says, appalling in their frankness and audacity. He is a complete despot here, and from the highest to the lowest all Prussians, and all the permanent Foreign Diplomacy, tremble at his frown and court most sedulously his smile."

Austria, and Italy. Both of these treaties were renewed from time to time, and were in force, with some alterations, in 1914.

France, after the war of 1870-1, was in an unenviable position. She had been humiliated by her defeat; she had been shorn at the Peace, as she thought most unjustly, of Alsace-Lorraine, and thus robbed of any part of the Rhine Boundary¹; and she had been forced to pay a huge indemnity. Moreover, she was isolated as a result of Bismarck's policy, and lived under constant fear of another German invasion. She made, nevertheless, a marvellous recovery. In two years she had paid off her indemnity; and a few years later she began to develop and expand a large empire in Africa and elsewhere (p. 681). Moreover, in 1893, she found an ally. In 1890 Bismarck resigned owing to differences with the young Kaiser, William the Second, who had just succeeded (Table, p. 617). Russia was not unwilling to enter into friendship with France, and in 1893 came the *Dual Alliance* of France and Russia. Europe was therefore now ranged into two camps: the Triple Alliance of 1882 on the one hand, and the Dual Alliance of 1893 on the other.²

What was the attitude of *Great Britain* during these forty years? She pursued at first, according to her traditions, a policy of isolation so far as European politics were concerned. The difficulties she did have were for some time with France and Russia rather than with the members of the Triple Alliance. She was still suspicious of Russian designs in the Near East on Constantinople, in the Middle East on Afghanistan and India, and in the Far East on the Empire of China. We have already seen how nearly she went to war in 1878, and how the crisis was averted at the Congress of Berlin (pp. 670-1). With

¹ "Think of it always, and never speak of it," was the advice of one statesman as to the loss of Alsace-Lorraine.

² The terms of the various Alliances are now known. The Dual Alliance of 1879 between Germany and Austria was to ensure against an attack by Russia, and provided that if one of the two empires was attacked by Russia, the other should come to its assistance. Italy came into the Alliance because of the French occupation of Tunis, which the Italians themselves wanted, and which, from its position, threatened Sicily; and the Triple Alliance of 1882 was chiefly concerned with France. Thus it provided that if Italy, without direct provocation, was attacked by France, Germany and Austria would help her. Under terms of the Treaty between Russia and France, Russia would help France if she was attacked by Germany, or by Italy and Germany; France would help Russia if she was attacked by Germany, or by Austria and Germany.

France again she had occasional difficulties over Egypt and the Soudan. France did not like our "provisional occupation" in 1882 of the former country, in which she had taken a peculiar interest since the time of Napoleon; and our conquest of the Soudan in 1898 (p. 680) conflicted with her ambition of having an empire across Africa from east to west.¹

With the twentieth century came a great change in the policy of Great Britain. Hitherto the relations with Germany had been on the whole friendly and at times even cordial². Great Britain and Germany. But in 1900 Germany passed a *Navy Law*. This law and subsequent laws making enormous increases in the German Navy seemed to threaten the supremacy of Great Britain on the seas, a supremacy on which Britain's very existence depended. Moreover, Germany had digested, as she thought, her gains of 1871. She had ceased to be a "satiated State", and was greedy for more. Above all she wanted to be a World Power. She was developing an empire in Africa, and she had large ambitions in the Far East. More-especially she had great schemes for a railway built by German capital from Berlin to Bagdad and thence to the Persian Gulf. Such a railway would give her, especially when combined with a political alliance with Turkey, practical control of Asia Minor and Mesopotamia, and incidentally might turn the British flank in the East.³ Finally the speeches of the German Kaiser

¹ Hence came the Fashoda incident (1898), which led to great tension between the two powers. France wished to occupy the Upper Nile Valley with a view to uniting her possessions in West Africa with those on the Red Sea. She therefore sent two expeditions, one eastward from the French Congo under a Major Marchand, and the other westward. Major Marchand reached Fashoda, a place, by river, some 450 miles south of Khartoum. But Lord Kitchener had just won the Battle of Omdurman, and was in a strong enough position to force the retirement of Major Marchand, and the French Government gave way.

² Thus in 1879, just before the formation of the Dual Alliance, Bismarck, who had made great friends with Disraeli at the Congress of Berlin, proposed a defensive alliance with Great Britain. The German Ambassador arrived at Hughenden, Disraeli's country seat in Bucks, at 6.30 one evening and made this proposal; but Disraeli gave no decided answer, and nothing came of it.

³ Of course Germany has as much justification as any other European Power in having extra-European ambitions. But the difficulty was to distinguish her object. Was the Bagdad Railway, for instance, merely intended to establish Central European influence from the Baltic to Constantinople and thence to the Persian Gulf; or was this influence, once established, to be used as a wedge to split the British Empire? The latter was openly proclaimed in German war literature, after the outbreak of war, to be the German object. As a matter of fact, however, Great Britain succeeded in the 'nineties in making satisfactory arrangements with Germany about spheres of influence in Africa; and with regard to the Bagdad Railway had concluded with Germany and Turkey in June, 1914, a draft agreement which would, if it had been observed—but it is a large if—have safeguarded British interests in the Persian Gulf. /

and the lectures of the German professors, glorifying the German nation and exalting war, and the well-known ambitions of the powerful German War Office for an opportunity to display the irresistible strength of the German war machine, all helped to make Great Britain apprehensive and uneasy. Germany was alternately "rattling the sword in the scabbard" to frighten France and Russia, and threatening to "seize the Trident" which would herald the downfall of the British Empire.

The result was that Great Britain, soon after the South African War was over, emerged from her isolation, and began to form alliances with other Powers. King Edward VII had just succeeded to the throne. His personality attracted the French, and created an atmosphere in which diplomacy could work.

Hence in 1904 came a treaty with France by which all differences were settled, the chief provision being that France recognized our

special interests in Egypt, whilst Great Britain recognized the special interests of France in Morocco.

Then came in the same year, 1904, the Russo-Japanese War. In this war the French sympathies were with Russia, whilst British sympathies were with the Japanese, with whom for some time British feeling had been cordial; and in 1905 Great Britain made with Japan an alliance (renewed in 1911) which aimed at securing peace in the Far East.

Then when the Russo-Japanese War was over, the Governments of Russia and Great Britain began to enter into negotiations, and in 1907 an arrangement was made between them. The Dual Alliance of France and Russia had now become the Triple

Entente of France, Russia, and Great Britain; but the co-operation was diplomatic rather than military, and Great Britain was not pledged to military support.

Meantime the *Balkans* were again becoming a burning question to three Powers, Austria-Hungary, Germany, and Russia.

Austria-Hungary was a huge empire, built up through a series of marriages by the House of Habsburg. It was

a museum of races; but the three chief were the Germans who lived chiefly in Austria, the Magyars who lived in Hungary, and various groups of Slavs, such as the Czechs in Bohemia and the Poles in Galicia in the north of the empire, and the Slovenes, the Serbs, and the Croats in the south. Briefly, Austria-Hungary

was a Dual Monarchy, in which the Germans were dominant in the Austrian Empire, and the Magyars were dominant in the Hungarian Empire; whilst the Slavs, who were included either in Austrian or Hungarian possessions, were a discontented and persecuted race. Austria and Hungary not only ill-treated the Slavs in these respective dominions, but they also began to oppose in every possible way the development of their Slav neighbour, *Serbia*, whose ambitions they held to threaten their south Slav possessions, and whom they held responsible for the discontent existing there. Russia, however, herself a Slav Power, was champion of the Slav cause in the Balkans, and hence came a constant source of friction.¹ Meantime *Germany* was becoming more and more friendly with the Turks, and seemed to be aiming at securing ultimately the political control of Constantinople, an aim which was very displeasing to *Russia*, who had always regarded herself as the ultimate occupier.

A survey of European conditions in the opening years of the twentieth century shows, then, that there was a good deal of inflammatory material. (First, Germany and France were traditional enemies on the Rhine, and Germany, moreover, strongly objected to the French interests in Morocco. Secondly, Germany and Great Britain were becoming rivals on the sea, and Great Britain was anxious about Germany's world ambitions, especially in connection with the Bagdad Railway. Thirdly, Russia and Serbia on the one hand, and Austria and Germany on the other, had conflicting racial interests in the Balkans and in the Straits. Hence came a series of crises.) Twice there was almost war over

¹ In Austria-Hungary there were three possible policies with regard to the Slav question. First, that which was actually pursued by the Austro-Hungarian Government, to suppress Slav racial activities and to preserve Austria-Hungary as a dual monarchy, with Germans and Magyars in the ascendant. Secondly, for the Slavs to break away from Austria-Hungary and to join with their fellow Slavs in Serbia. This was the Pan-Slav solution; and the one adopted since the war, with the creation of Jugo-Slavia. The centre of this movement before the war was Belgrade, the capital of Serbia, and there was an extensive propaganda. Moreover, the young extremists of the movement were responsible for the riots and even for the assassinations or attempted assassinations of Austro-Hungarian officials. The official relations between Austria-Hungary and Serbia were liable to be uneasy as long as this agitation continued, however correct the attitude of the Serbian Government itself might be. Thirdly, for the south Slav possessions of Austria and Hungary to be given "Home Rule" under the Habsburg Monarchy—in other words, to convert the "Dual Monarchy" into a "Triune Monarchy". This solution was equally unpopular with Magyars, who supported the first policy, and with the Pan-Slavs, who supported the second.

the Moroccan question; once when a famous French Foreign Secretary had to retire, and once when the Germans sent a gunboat to a Moroccan port.¹ The Russian and Serbian resentment was very strong against Austria-Hungary in 1908, when that Power annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina. Then during the year 1912-3 European diplomacy was mainly concerned with fresh Balkan wars. In 1912 Serbia and Bulgaria, Greece and Montenegro combined against Turkey. The Allies, having driven the Turks back to Constantinople and a small district round it, proceeded to quarrel over the division of the spoils. Bulgaria's greed led the other Balkan Powers, including Roumania, to combine against her, with the result that at the treaty of *Bukharest* Bulgaria obtained less than was originally intended.)

We now come to the immediate cause of war. In June, 1914, an Austrian Arch-Duke, heir to the Austria-Hungarian throne, was murdered.² The Austrian Government attributed the murder to Serbian intrigues; and, encouraged by Germany, presented an ultimatum to Serbia containing such severe terms that no independent state could be expected to accept it in its entirety.³ The ultimatum at once roused great feeling in Russia, to whom Serbia appealed. Desperate attempts were made at mediation, and Great Britain, especially, endeavoured to find a solution which would satisfy Austria without infringing on the sovereignty of Serbia. But Austria refused to consider any modification of the ultimatum, and declared war on Serbia. Then almost in a moment the Great War burst upon Europe. On

The
Crisis,
1914.

¹ In the first case in 1906, M. Delcassé had to retire and a European conference was held at Algeiras; in the second, in 1911, the German gunboat *Panther* was sent to Agadir, and eventually, after long negotiations, Germany renounced her claims in Morocco in return for concessions in the French Congo.

² The Arch-Duke Ferdinand, whilst driving with his wife in the streets of Serajevo, the capital of Bosnia, was murdered with a Browning pistol by a young Bosnian, a member of the Pan-Slav Party; immediately before that a bomb had been thrown at the Arch-Duke, who struck it aside, and it fell in front of the next motor, where it burst, wounding an officer. The Arch-Duke was, as a matter of fact, rather in favour of Home Rule for the Slavs, though, of course, he wished to keep them in the Habsburg Monarchy. He was a passionate gardener and a great shot; he had shot over 5000 stags, and on one occasion, with a rifle, got a "right and left" at a stag and a hare as they ran.

³ For instance, the Austrians were to be allowed a veto over all appointments to offices, civil or military, a right of censorship over education, and the power to appoint commissioners to suppress "subversive" movements on Serbian soil. They were given forty-eight hours in which to reply; and that at a time when the Serbian Prime Minister was absent from Belgrade.

August 1st, Germany, as an ally of Austria-Hungary, declared war on Russia, who was, by mobilizing her army, supporting Serbia; and two days later Germany declared war on France. Then the Germans, with a view to carrying out their war plans against France, demanded of Belgium a free passage for troops through their country, notwithstanding the fact that the neutrality of Belgium had been guaranteed in 1839 by the leading European Powers, of which Prussia had been one.¹

The German demand on Belgium was the direct cause of Great Britain's entry into the war. Up to this point the Government had hesitated what to do in the event of war breaking out. One of the cardinal principles, however, of Great Britain's policy has always been to prevent the coasts opposite her shores being used as a possible basis for hostile attacks—a principle which has led Great Britain into contests with Spain and with France in the past, and which was now to be vindicated once more against a still mightier foe. But much more important, in the consideration of our statesmen in 1914, was the fact that the action of Germany was a most flagrant violation of a European treaty to which both Great Britain and Prussia were partners.² On Belgium's moving and pathetic appeal for help, all hesitancy on the part of the British Government vanished; and at 11 p.m. on August 4th Great Britain entered the war. By August 4th, 1914, therefore, Great Britain, Russia, France, Belgium, and Serbia were in conflict with Germany and Austria-Hungary; Italy remained neutral, as she held that the war waged by Germany and Austria-

¹ The neutrality of Belgium had been guaranteed in 1839 by Great Britain, Austria, France, Prussia, and Russia; and in 1870, at the beginning of the Franco-German War, Gladstone's Government had made a treaty first with Prussia and then with France providing that if either violated the neutrality of Belgium, Great Britain would co-operate with the other for its defence.

² The German Chancellor said to the Reichstag, August 4th, "Gentlemen, that (i.e. the invasion) is a breach of international law . . . the wrong we thereby commit we will try to make good as soon as our military aims have been attained. He who is menaced as we are and is fighting for his all (sein Höchstes) can only consider how he is to hack his way through." The British Prime Minister said to the House of Commons, 6th August, "If I am asked what we are fighting for, I reply in two sentences. In the first place to fulfil a solemn international obligation, an obligation which, if it had been entered into between private persons in the ordinary concerns of life, would have been regarded as an obligation not only of law but of honour, which no self-respecting man could possibly have repudiated. I say secondly, we are fighting to vindicate the principle that small nationalities are not to be crushed in defiance of international good faith by the arbitrary will of a strong and overmastering Power."

Hungary was an aggressive war. The Great War had begun, and before long was to draw in most of the other Powers in the world.¹

The feeling in Europe in the years preceding the war had become increasingly tense and feverish. Armaments were piling up, crises were multiplying, and the ambitions of the various Powers, racial and territorial, European and extra-European, were undoubtedly difficult of adjustment. But the world has fixed, and fixed justly, the guilt of the war on Germany. Germany's Guilt. There was undoubtedly in Germany a large party who desired a world war and was increasingly insistent that such a war was necessary not only to secure the world ambitions of Germany, and to checkmate the supposed designs of Russia, but also to rally the nation round the monarchy and to weaken the increasing power of the Socialists. And to such people the summer of 1914 seemed opportune. The Russian and French reorganization of their armies was not completed; the Kiel Canal, deepened in order to take the largest warships, had just been reopened; and Great Britain, owing to Irish difficulties, seemed to be on the verge of civil war. And then occurred the murder of the Austrian Arch-Duke. "It is now or never," is reported to have been the comment of the German Emperor; and undoubtedly the expression represented the feeling of many in Germany. But as to how far, and for how long, and to what extent the Kaiser and his advisers, military and political, had definitely planned the world war beforehand cannot at present be definitely ascertained. Undoubtedly, however, when the Austrian ultimatum was presented, they thwarted all attempts at mediation—at all events until too late.² Those responsible for German policy in Berlin and their confederates in Vienna deliberately tried to impose a solution of a

(¹ The date of entry of the other chief Powers was as follows: On the side of Great Britain and her Allies, Japan, August, 1914; Italy, May, 1915; Portugal in March, Roumania in August, and Greece in November, 1916; United States, 1917; China, Brazil, Montenegro, San Marino, Panama, Cuba, Siam, Liberia, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Haiti, and Honduras also joined against the Central Powers. On the side of the enemy, Turkey, November, 1914; Bulgaria, October, 1915.)

² Apparently Berlin did make some attempt at the end to support a compromise when they realized that Great Britain might join the war against them. But the Russian mobilization began almost at the same time, and the German General Staff insisted upon war; the problem of time they considered all important, and their whole strategy was based on the assumption that Russia would mobilize slowly.

European question—for the Austro-Serbian dispute was a European question—on the nations of Europe by a threat of war, and, if other nations refused this dictation, by war immediately declared. They, and they alone, must therefore be held accountable for the war with all the suffering and all the horrors that it brought in its train.

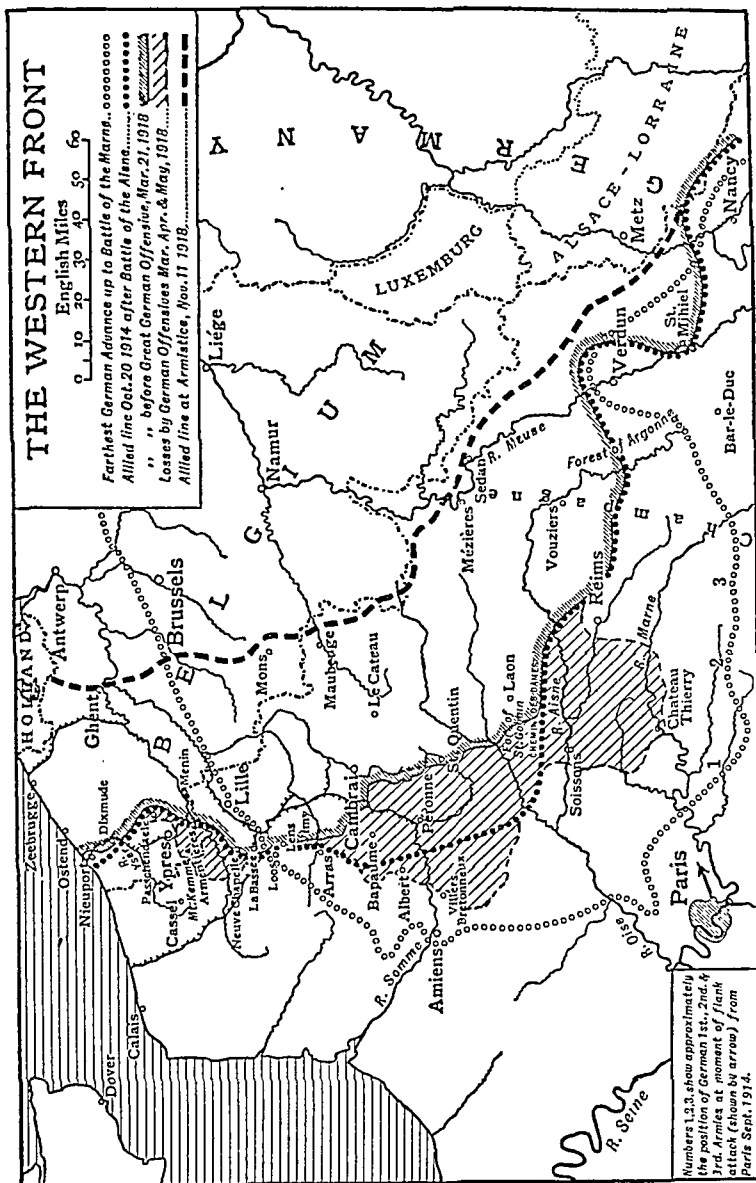
The best articles on the causes of the war are those by Professor Delbrück and Mr. Headlam-Morley giving respectively the German and British point of view and published in the *Contemporary Review*, for March, 1921; and there is a valuable article by G. P. Gooch in *History*, April, 1921. The official papers were analysed by Professor Oman in *The Outbreak of War*. A short summary of the foreign policy is contained in G. P. Gooch's *History of Our Time* (1885-1911), in the Home University Library. Hazen's *Fifty Years of Europe* (1870-1919) (Bell & Son), sketches the history from an American and Poincaré's *Les Origines de la Guerre* from a French standpoint.

II. The Great War, 1914-8

The Great War was fought on a scale unapproached in any previous century. For the first time, "Nations in Arms" fought one another. Instead of tens of thousands, millions faced Modern Warfare. one another—altogether the war saw the employment of no less than 50 millions of armed men. Moreover, not only were old weapons transformed and multiplied beyond measure,¹ but the war was fought in new elements and with new weapons. War in the air and under the water was developed enormously. Air forces—aeroplanes or airships or balloons—were used, for instance, for scouting and for obtaining information, chiefly by means of photography, of the hostile dispositions; for assisting artillery by checking and registering; for bombing hostile forts and railway stations; and for attacking the enemy on the march.² The under-the-water weapons, again, as we shall see, transformed the conditions of naval warfare. As the war progressed, weapons became more and more deadly and diabolical. Hand-grenades, gas and artificial

¹ The British had on the West Front at the beginning of the war 486 guns and howitzers, of which 24 were of medium calibre; at the end they had 6437, of which 2211 were of medium and heavy calibre.

² In the Turkish retreat of September, 1918, the Air Force in particular bombed the only road by which the Turkish left could retreat, and did untold harm.



fog, liquid fire, and tanks were all gradually brought into operation. The result was that the strain on men's nerves in the later stages of the war was of a kind incomparable with that in any previous warfare.

The Germans had to fight on two fronts, on the *West* against France, on the *East* against Russia; and throughout the war, the

interdependence of these two fronts must be clearly borne in mind—for it is the key to the war. The French were

quick to mobilize, the Russians slow. Hence, at the opening of the war, the German plan was to concentrate two-thirds of their army in the West, and to "knock out" France before Russia was ready. But the Germans thought that no immediate decision was possible on the strongly defended, rather mountainous frontier of 150 miles between France and Germany. Consequently they determined to wheel their offensive armies through Belgium, and thus to envelop the left flank of the French and British. The French, on the other hand, were prepared to take the offensive themselves north and south of Metz, and had made arrangements accordingly, whilst the British forces which came to assist them were to be placed on the left on the Franco-Belgian frontier.

The Germans nearly succeeded. They first overwhelmed the fortresses of *Liège*¹ and *Namur*, the one after twelve days and the other after thirty-six hours. At dawn, on August 23rd,

The German Blow. the German First Army of 160,000 men under von Kluck was on the Franco-Belgian frontier, and was within striking distance of the British Expeditionary Force of 70,000 men under Sir John (now Earl) French, a force which had just landed and was facing north near *Mons*. Rapid retreat alone saved the British and the French army on the British right from destruction²; and meantime the French offensive in Alsace and Lorraine had

¹ The brave Belgian defence of *Liège* upset the German time-table, it has been estimated, by forty-eight hours—and the loss of those forty-eight hours was, as events turned out, one of the causes of the German failure.

² Von Kluck attacked the British forces near *Mons*, but the attack was not pressed home, von Kluck not knowing how the British forces stood. Then the British, divided into two corps under Haig and Smith-Dorrien, made a rapid retreat. But Smith-Dorrien had to fight a rear-guard action at *Le Cateau*, as one of the divisions was unable to keep pace with the rest. The British had few machine-guns, but the excellence of their rifle-fire inflicted so great damage that the Germans were deceived as to our strength.

failed. The German armies now pressed on towards Paris. Their immediate object, however, was not to take the French capital but to drive the Allied armies south-east away from it towards the Swiss frontier. They seemed likely to be successful, and got beyond the River Marne.

Why did the Germans fail to achieve their object, and to what was the salvation of France due? To begin with, the Russians had mobilized quicker than was expected, and, to relieve the pressure in France, had invaded East Prussia.

The Miracle
of the
Marne.

The Germans withdrew two corps from their armies on the right wing in the West to meet this danger—and thus weakened their forces at the critical moment.¹ Then von Kluck, as his army swung south-east, was attacked on his right flank by a force that issued from the French capital. To meet this attack von Kluck had to weaken his centre and left, and thus created a gap between his own army and the Second German Army on his left. Meantime the Second and Third German Armies had tried, and tried in vain, to break down the tenacity of the French army, under Foch, opposite to them. Combined British and French forces then threatened the gap between the First and the Second Army. The Germans were consequently forced to retreat from the *River Marne*; and they found no secure resting-place till they reached the northern side of the *River Aisne*.²

But the Germans were safe on the heights above the *Aisne* and could not be dislodged; the lines from Reims to the Alps were henceforth stabilized, and for the next four years they shifted

¹ But apparently these two corps were not asked for by the commanders in the Eastern front; and they only arrived after the great Battle of Tannenberg (see later). Their continued presence in the West might have been, in the opinion of German military authorities, decisive.

² The German General Staff under Moltke was a long way back, and had completely lost control of the operations. Their orders to von Kluck took a long time to come (one took over twelve hours). When they did come they were no longer, von Kluck thought, applicable to the situation; and so, on at least two occasions, he disregarded them. Thus von Kluck, when ordered to drive the armies opposed to him south-east, away from Paris, was also told to follow in echelon behind the Second Army, and to be responsible for flank protection. But von Kluck, who had got farther forward than the Second Army on his left, thought that if he waited for it he would miss his chance of dealing with the armies opposed to him: and so he disregarded the order, and thus exposed his flank to the attack from Paris. The final orders for retreat back from the *Marne* were apparently given or approved by a colonel on the General Staff who had been sent forward to deal with the situation as he thought best.

nowhere by more than half a dozen miles. The campaign now took the form, however, of a race farther north from the *Aisne* to the sea (September to November), each side trying to outflank the other and neither succeeding. The Germans, who had taken *Antwerp*, then attempted to break through our line at *Ypres*¹, an attempt which also failed, after the most desperate fighting. Both sides then dug themselves in for the winter. The Germans were left in occupation of nearly all Belgium and a large and valuable part of French territory. But they had hoped to repeat in the campaign of 1914 the decisive successes of 1870—and had definitely failed².

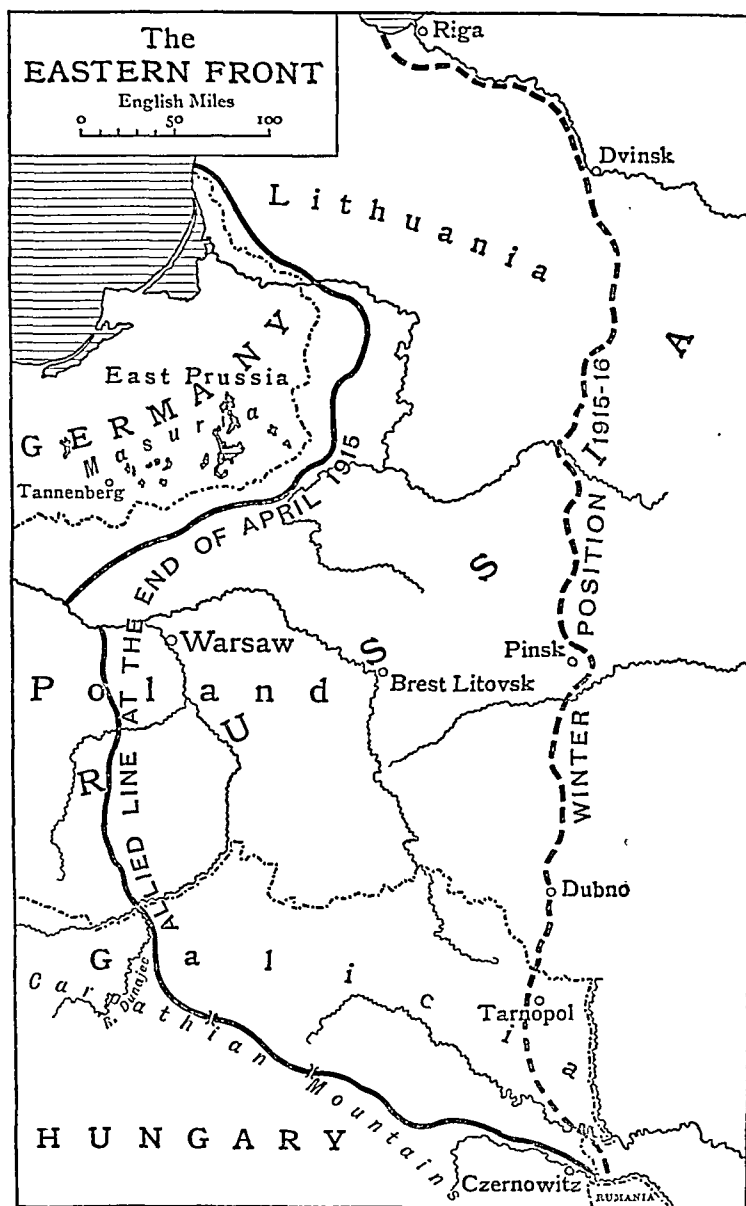
With the year 1915 the events in the *East* occupy the chief attention. That front had not been idle in 1914. As we have seen, the Russians had invaded East Prussia in August; but the Germans had won the great Battle of *Tannenberg*³ which drove them out of German territory. The Russians, however, were still active. They invaded Galicia, and in the early months of 1915 occupied the Carpathian passes and prepared for a descent into the plains of Hungary. The situation was critical. If Hungary was invaded, Austria-Hungary might collapse. Hence the next German blow was aimed at the Eastern Front. Beginning with a great attack on the Russian front in Galicia⁴, the Germans extended the

¹ The most critical moment, according to Lord French, was between 2 and 3 p.m. on the 31st Oct. French had joined General Haig at Hooze Château, a short distance from Ypres on the Ypres-Menin road—destined to be the most blood-stained highway in the world. The Germans were attacking Gheluvelt, a place farther up the road. The situation was saved by the 2nd Worcesters, who were sent up by Fitzclarence just in time to relieve Gheluvelt. The Germans eventually, in subsequent operations, obtained both Gheluvelt and Hooze; but they were able to go no farther. Ypres remained throughout the war in British possession, though it was in a salient and exposed to incessant attack.

² A review of the operations of 1914 reveals the fact that the "fog of war" was as great as ever. The French Staff were wrong in their estimate of the German strength by nearly thirty per cent, and entirely wrong concerning German plans. The Germans again were misinformed on the British operations; thus on August 20th, when our concentration was almost completed at Maubeuge, their Headquarters wired, "It is believed that a disembarkation of British troops on a big scale has not yet taken place".

³ This was the first success of the famous combination of Hindenburg and Ludendorff, the former being the figure-head, the latter the brain. The Russians had invaded East Prussia; but they were in two masses, separated by two or three days' march. Leaving merely a skeleton force to mask the one, Ludendorff overwhelmed the other, capturing 90,000 prisoners. A fortnight later, reinforced by the two corps from the West, he won another battle in the Masurian lakes.

⁴ That of Mackensen on the River Dunajec, at the end of April, 1915.



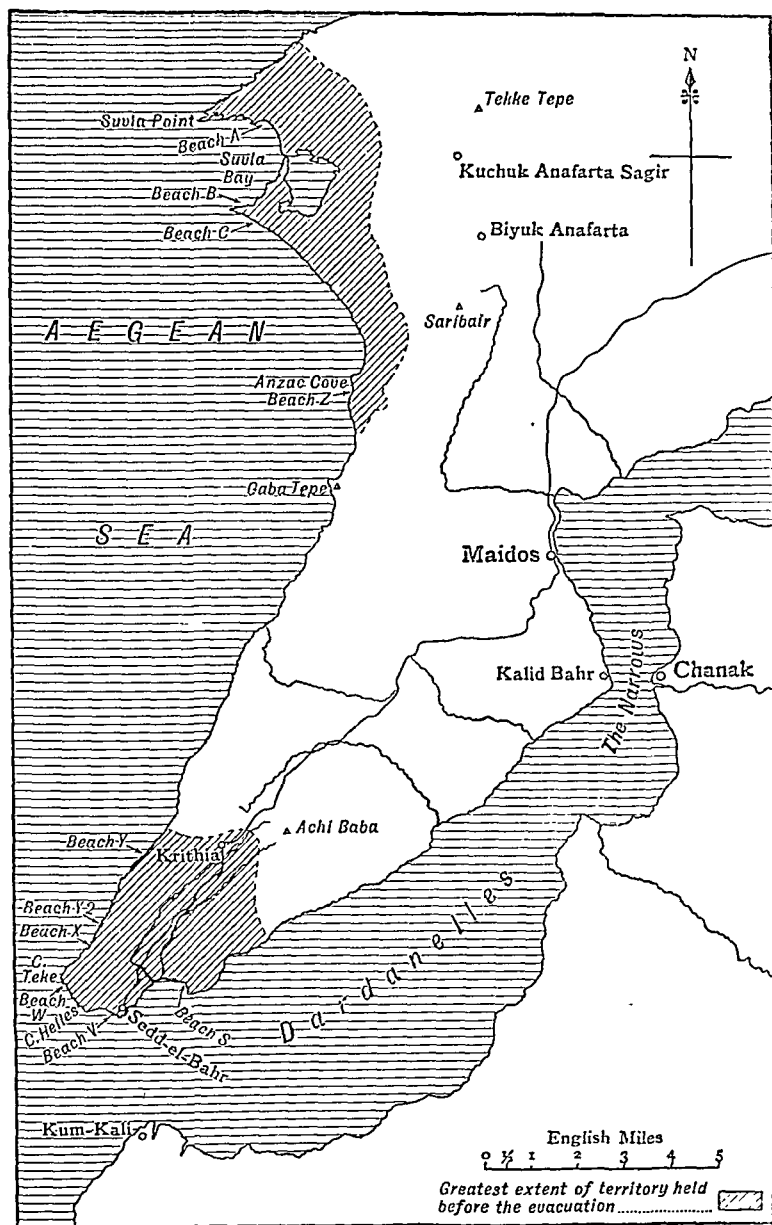
offensive farther north. By September they had driven the Russians out of Galicia, Russian Poland, and Lithuania; had occupied various towns, including *Warsaw*, and strongholds; and had taken or killed hundreds of thousands of Russians, besides capturing immense quantities of guns. A line was then established from north to south well inside Russian territory—except in the extreme south.¹

Austria-Hungary had as a result been saved from disaster—for the Italians had now (May, 1915) entered the war against her, and she would hardly have survived the combination of offensives from both Russia and Italy. But though thus far successful, the Germans had not yet achieved their object—the elimination of Russia from the war.

The great German offensive in the East was the first movement of importance in the year 1915. The second was the
Dardanelles expedition of the British. Turkey had entered the war against the Allies in the autumn of 1914. By holding the Dardanelles, she prevented communication between the Allies and Russia through the Black Sea. The objects of the British expedition were to open communication with Russia, to anticipate a threatened attack on Egypt by a “knock-out blow” to Turkey, and to keep Bulgaria from entering the war against us. The first attempt to force the Dardanelles was made by the battleships alone, and failed (March). The second was made by a joint land and sea expedition, the idea being to land on the Gallipoli peninsula and then to force the Turkish positions commanding the straits (April). Thousands of the bravest and finest men from Great Britain, from Australia and New Zealand, fought and died together on that blood-stained shore. But their heroism was fruitless. The Turks held on to their main positions: and by the end of the year the British Government withdrew the troops (December)². The

¹ The line ran south of Riga, just west of Dvinsk, east of Pinsk, west of Dubno and Tarnopol, east of Czernowitz. A serious result of the campaign was the retirement to the Caucasus of the Grand Duke Nicholas, a very competent commander, who had commanded the Russian forces in the retreat.

² The Peninsula of Gallipoli—in ancient history known as the Thracian Chersonese—is a tongue of land lying between the Ægean Sea and the Straits of the Dardanelles; it is some fifty miles long, and varies in breadth from twelve to three or four miles. It is very hilly on the peninsula, whilst the Asiatic or opposite side of the Dardanelles is flat. After the



British failure at Gallipoli was perhaps the greatest disappointment of the war. Yet the thousands who died there cannot be said to have died altogether in vain. The expedition had put fresh heart into the Russians, it had kept large Turkish forces from being used elsewhere,¹ and it at any rate postponed for five critical months the entry of Bulgaria into the war.

The Gallipoli expedition, however, succeeded only in postponing the entry of Bulgaria into the war. And its entry led to the third great event on the Eastern Front—the occupation of Serbia. So far Serbia had more than held its own with the Austrians. But in the autumn of 1915 the German and Austrian armies attacked it from the north, and the Bulgarians from the east, and completely overwhelmed the Serbian army. All Serbia was occupied, and the only territory held in the Balkans by the Allies was a strip of land round Salonika, the Greek port, which was hastily seized as a base for future operations.²

Hence the year 1915 closed in the East badly for the Allies and successfully for their enemies. The fall of Serbia had opened the German corridor from Berlin to Constantinople and thence to Asia Minor and Egypt; whilst the British had failed to establish their communications with Russia.³ Nor had the British met with greater success in an expedition which they undertook in *Mesopotamia*. They had advanced towards *Bagdad* and then had to

attack by sea had failed with the loss, owing to floating mines, of one French and two British ships, two big attacks by land were made under Sir Ian Hamilton's leadership. The first was made in April "by the finest body of young men ever brought together in modern times" composed of the Australian and New Zealand soldiers, the 29th Division, and the Royal Naval Division. The attack resulted in the occupation of Cape Helles at the extremity of the Gallipoli Peninsula, and also of a strip of coast farther north at Anzac—so called after the initial letters of the Australian and New Zealand Army Corps, who had, in taking it, ninety-six hours' continuous fighting with little or no sleep. The second attack was made in August. Our position at Anzac was extended; and another force landed farther north at Suvla Bay, but the attack was not pushed home. The evacuation was a brilliant success. At Cape Helles, the last place from which the British retired, 17,000 men and 35 guns were withdrawn on the last night between 8 p.m. and 4 a.m. with total casualties of one man hit by a stray bullet, one broken leg, and one sprained ankle.

¹ Lord Kitchener put it at 300,000.

² The remnants of the Serbian army escaped to Albania. They found refuge in Corfu, were refitted, and in a few months made an admirable little force of six divisions of infantry and one of cavalry, a force which was, under Marshal Mischitch, to do splendid service on the Salonika Front.

³ Hence the communications remained as before, either through Siberia from the Pacific coast, or by the White Sea, the latter route being only practicable at certain periods of the year.

retreat. At the end of the year a force was surrounded at *Kut*; and it had to surrender the following April (1916)—the biggest surrender of British troops since that of Saratoga in 1777. The capture, however, by the Russians, at the beginning of the year 1916, of *Erzerum*, a great fortress and road centre in Asiatic Turkey, was some set-off to this disaster.

The year 1915 saw most movement on the Eastern Front, but it must not be supposed that on the *Western Front* there was less activity. The opposing lines of trenches, and in front of them the lines of barbed wire, ran all the way from the ^{Western} Belgian coast to the Alps. Sometimes these opposing lines were some hundreds of yards away from each other, sometimes they were only some sixty or eighty yards or even less—and in places they remained in the same position for nearly four years.¹ For the whole length of this line hundreds of thousands of soldiers faced one another, or rather lived underground in trenches and “dug-outs” in conditions of appalling discomfort, especially in the winter when the trenches were full of mud and water. Fighting was incessant. Night raids, bombings, air-fighting, artillery duels took place nearly all along that vast front. At various times during 1915 large offensives took place on either side; which did not, however, result in any considerable change of position. Of these the most important was in September. In that month there was

¹ Starting from North Sea the line ran roughly north to south from the Belgian coast to well south of Amiens; and then more or less west to east; and then, beyond Verdun, north to south. The different sections may possibly be made clear as follows:

Two sections in Belgium.

1. Nieuport to Dixmude; much of this was flooded.
2. The Ypres sector and salient, roughly from Dixmude to Armentières and including the Passchendaele ridge to the north and that of Messines to the south of Ypres.

Five sections in France.

3. Armentières to Givenchy and La Bassée (Givenchy was British throughout the war and La Bassée, just east of it, was German nearly throughout); and thence, via Loos, Lens, the Vimy Ridge, to Arras.
4. The Somme quadrilateral, with Arras, Cambrai, St. Quentin, Amiens, as the four corners; the line varied, but Amiens and Arras were always in Allied hands, and St. Quentin and Cambrai were, till two months before the end of the war, in German hands.
5. From south of Amiens to Reims: here the line bends round the St. Gobain Forest and then runs more or less east from Soissons to north of Reims; north of the Aisne and of Soissons is the famous Chemin-des-Dames.
6. From Reims to Verdun; the line going east through the Champagne country, then through the Forest of Argonne which witnessed terrific fighting.
7. From Verdun south round the St. Mihiel salient and thence along the Vosges mountains.

a great French offensive in the south in Champagne toward Vouziers, and a combined Franco-British attack in the north, the French attacking Vimy Ridge and the British fighting at Loos; some ground was gained, but the result of the attacks hardly came up to expectations.¹

We now come to the year 1916. Neither Germany nor Austria in this year proceeded with their effort to drive Russia out of the war. On the contrary, Austria, in the spring of 1916, launched an offensive against Italy in the Trentino, an offensive that met with only moderate success (May). And, in the West, Germany attempted, in February, a great offensive against Verdun. Verdun is defended on the east by a semi-circle of hills beyond which stretches the plain which leads to Metz, the great German stronghold. On these hills the French have placed a series of forts, the names of which, such as Douaumont and Vaux, will be remembered for all time. Verdun is at once the gateway of France for a foe advancing westwards and the sallyport of the French for an offensive towards the east. In a successful offensive against Verdun, the Germans hoped, would break France, and thereby "knock England's best sword out of her hand".² The attack began at the end of February, and went on with little intermission till the end of June. In the course of it the French lost the forts of Douaumont and Vaux on the one side of the Meuse, and two important hills on the other. But, with unconquerable heroism, they held on till Verdun was finally relieved by the attacks of their Allies elsewhere.³

¹ There were other attacks as well. For instance, in March, the British had an offensive at Neuve Chapelle. In April the Germans had a poison-gas attack on the Yser, north of Ypres. Gas was in direct contravention of international law, and it overwhelmed the French colonials; much ground was lost, and the situation was only saved by the Canadians. The French had an offensive north of Arras in May, and gained some ground though failing to capture the Vimy Ridge.

² See the memorandum of Falkenhayn, the German Chief of Staff, in his *General Headquarters and its Critical Decisions* for an interesting explanation of the reasons for the attack.

³ Verdun's defence is, for the French, the epic of the war. The desperate holding, in the underground chambers of the fort of Vaux during seven days and nights of continual fighting, in the last two of which the defenders had not one drop of water; prolonged battles round the fort and village of Douaumont; the wonderful organisation for victualling by means of lorries—1700 daily each way—along the "sacred way" leading to Verdun from Bar-le-Duc, make up a wonderful story. Over 400,000 Frenchmen laid down their lives in defence of Verdun—and every yard of the district witnessed the devoted heroism of some French soldier. Two of the orders of the day are historic. The first was the

The first of these Allied reliefs came from Russia, and provides another striking illustration of the interdependence of East and West. The Austrians, in order to launch their offensive against Italy, to which we have referred, had weakened their front against Russia. At the beginning of June the *Russian* forces, under General Brussiloff, attacked on the southern half of the long Eastern Front. They went through the weakened Austrian line like paper, and in one part of it made a yawning gap thirty miles wide, and drove the Austrians back some fifty miles in less than a fortnight. The result was that the Germans had once again to hurry troops from the Western Front to prevent complete disaster for their Austro-Hungarian allies.

Then at the beginning of July the Anglo-French forces launched a huge offensive on both sides of the *Somme*. The French at first made the more ground, but the British had far the harder fighting. For five months the attacks continued with little intermission and on a scale which far exceeded all other offensives as regards the number of men and amount of material employed. The amount of ground actually acquired was not commensurate with the expenditure of men and munitions, and neither Bapaume nor Peronne was captured; and every yard was only gained as a result of bitter and intense hand-to-hand fighting. But as a result the German war machine was strained almost to breaking-point; and the loss of men and the expenditure of material the Germans sustained may perhaps be held to have justified this long-prolonged agony of fighting.¹ Moreover, on that blood-stained ground, the new armies, which Great Britain had raised, encountered with success the troops hitherto considered the best trained in Europe. British

1916,
Russian
Offensive.

1916,
The Somme
Offensive.

General Pétain on April 10th, after one of the fiercest of the German attacks: "Courage. On les aura". The second was General Nivelle's on June 23rd, when the position seemed desperate—"L'heure est décisive. Vous ne les laisserez pas passer, mes camarades."

¹ The whole of the district included in the fighting was completely shell-holed, and there was no even walking anywhere. The woods became mere stumps of trees, and of the villages no one single trace remained. Every wood is full of memories of the dead—Delville Wood which is sacred to the South Africans, and Trones Wood on which no less than seventeen attacks were made. The views on the Somme fighting of Ludendorff, the real German commander after August, 1916, are worth quoting: "The strain in physical and moral strength was tremendous, and divisions could only be kept in the line for a few days at a time. They had to be frequently relieved and sent to recuperate on quiet fronts."

airmen accomplished marvels, and certainly at this time were superior to the Germans. Finally, in the course of the battles, came into use the weapon which was destined to play a large part in the final success of the Allies—the British “tank”.¹

The Russian was the first, and the Franco-British the second of the Allied offensives in 1916. A third began in August when the *Italians*, thrusting towards Trieste, made an attack across the *Isonzo* and obtained *Gorizia*. The German pressure at Verdun could no longer, in face of these offensives, be maintained. Before the end of the year the French by two vigorous attacks had recovered most of the ground which they had lost on the right bank of the Meuse, including the historic forts of Douaumont and Vaux.

In the East, however, the year ended once again gloomily for the Allies. *Roumania* came into the war on the side of the Allies at the end of August, and at once took the offensive in Transylvania. But meantime Hindenburg and Ludendorff, who had made their reputations in the eastern fighting, had succeeded to the control of the German army.² They first checked the Russian advance, and then planned with Austria-Hungary an offensive against the Roumanians which led before the end of the year 1916 to the fall of Bucharest, the capital of Roumania, and to the conquest of Wallachia, which comprised two-thirds of that country.³

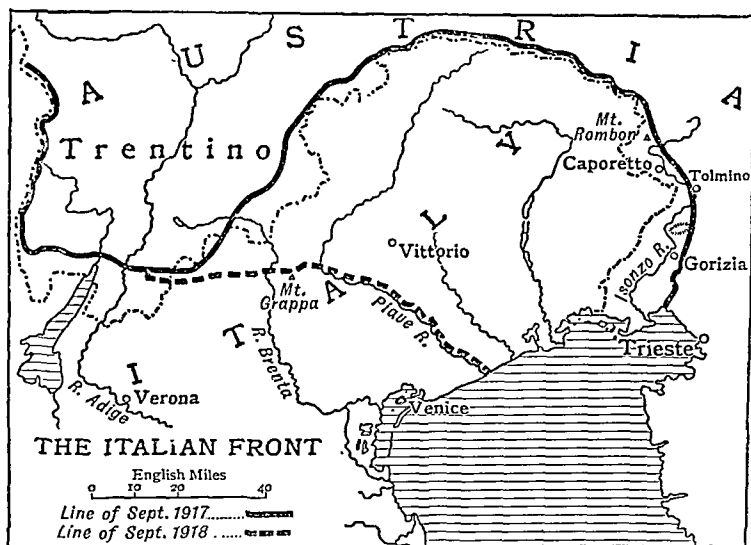
We must now turn from the war for a moment to consider what was happening in Great Britain and the Empire. The first difficulty of Great Britain was to build up an army. We had at the beginning of the war a highly-trained force of regulars and the Territorials, who did yeoman service.

¹ Sir Douglas (now Earl) Haig had succeeded Sir John (now Earl) French as Commander-in-Chief of the British forces on the Western Front at the end of 1915. At the same time, General Robertson was made Chief of the Imperial General Staff at home, but was succeeded by Sir Henry Wilson at the beginning of 1918.

² Hindenburg was nominally Chief of Staff, but all the work was done by Ludendorff. The latter gradually concentrated into his own hands the control of strategy on every front, whether German or Austrian, Bulgarian or Turkish. Not content with that, he supervised the government of many of the territories occupied by the German armies, interfered freely in foreign policy and the making of treaties, and gave unceasing advice to the German authorities at home on matters so diverse as shipping, the decrease of the birth-rate, and the drying of vegetables.

³ All the food supplies of Wallachia were obtained as a consequence by the enemy.

But a force of under three-quarters of a million was patently insufficient for a world war. *Lord Kitchener*, who had been made Minister of War on the outbreak of hostilities, had the foresight to see that the war would last at least three years. He inspired such confidence and enthusiasm in the country that, literally, millions of volunteers came freely forward at his bidding to form the "New Armies"—armies which bore themselves so well on the Somme. But even these volunteers were not enough; and in



January, 1916, Great Britain adopted the principle of conscription.¹ Great Britain could also, however, rely on her dominions and dependencies to help her. From every sea and from every continent she gained recruits: and the achievements of Canadians, Australians, and New Zealanders in Gallipoli and on the Western Front, of the South Africans in Delville Wood and elsewhere, and of the Indian troops in Mesopotamia and Palestine are amongst the most memorable of the war. The contribution of Great Britain and her Empire was growing throughout the war; and the total number of enlistments in the British Empire, in-

¹ In July of the same year, Lord Kitchener, whilst on his way to Russia, was drowned.

cluding those serving in 1914, was altogether over 8½ millions of men.¹

But lack of *munitions* was a difficulty as great as lack of men. Our early attacks showed the need of an unending supply of shells; and in the summer of 1915 a Ministry of Munitions was created under Mr. Lloyd George, a Ministry under whose leadership the industries of Great Britain became one vast workshop to satisfy the needs, naval and military, not only of the British but of their Allies.²

The third necessity for Great Britain was an energetic leader at home. *Mr. Asquith's* government became in May, 1915, a Coalition Government representing the three chief parties, Liberal, Unionist, and Labour. But in the autumn of 1916 Mr. Asquith fell. He had borne the burden of premiership for nearly ten years, and he had perhaps lost the quick power of decision necessary in the great crises of war. He was succeeded by Mr. Lloyd George, whose energy and imagination, optimistic temperament and power of speech made him before long almost a Dictator in Great Britain. Mr. Lloyd George formed a small war cabinet—without departmental functions—whose duties were to attend to the war; and of those who were members at various times perhaps the most interesting was General Smuts, our skilful foe in the South African War and now Prime Minister of South Africa.

The fourth necessity was that the Englishman should give up his traditional liberty. Conscription robbed him, for his country's sake, of his right to live. And the civilians at home had to submit more and more to State control. All great industries, such as shipping, mines, and railways, were supervised by the State. And, gradually, not only was the supply of articles of food organized, but even the amount that each citizen should be allowed to eat was rationed. And, inevitably, there had to be the most rigorous censorship of the press, and suspected persons could be kept in

¹ The self-governing dominions' figures are as follows (the first figure shows the number enlisted, the second the number sent overseas): Canada, 619,000 and 418,000; Australia and Tasmania, 417,000 and 330,000; New Zealand, 222,000 and 100,000; South Africa, 136,000 and 74,000.

² Before the war about 50,000 men were employed on munitions—at the time of the armistice 2,300,000 men and 900,000 women were employed. On one day of the British offensives in 1918, nearly 950,000 shells weighing 40,000 tons were fired—a larger quantity than was fired throughout the two and a half years of the South African War.

prison without any form of trial.¹ Of course the State made, in undertaking all these functions, many mistakes; but, on the whole, it is wonderful it made so few.

The year 1916 saw not only great offensives in east and west, not only the adoption of conscription in Great Britain, but also the only great battle at sea during the war; and here we may appropriately say something about the navy. For, ^{Duties of} ~~as~~ ^{Navy.} as ever in British warfare, the activities of our navy were all important. The navy, apart from its *main* duty of watching the enemy's fleet, had many duties to perform. *First*, it had to protect the shores of Great Britain from German raids or invasions. A few raids were made, as for instance on Lowestoft and Scarborough, but the Germans were able to make no attempt at invasion. *Secondly*, the navy had to transport and convoy all the soldiers and munitions and supplies of all sorts to the many fields of war—twenty million men were conveyed to and from France alone during the four years of war, and without the loss of a single soul.

Thirdly, the navy had to sweep the enemies' merchant flag from the sea, and to strangle their foreign trade. At the very beginning of the war, enemy trading ships had to seek refuge in their own or neutral harbours, and as time went on the supplies our foes received through neutral ships and states became less and less. The strangulation of their trade and the stoppage of their imports were not the least of the factors which brought about the final downfall of the enemy powers.

Fourthly, the British Navy had to protect and encourage British and Allied commerce. Great Britain's very existence depended upon her imports—and if the navy had failed, Great Britain would have been starved into surrender in a few weeks.² At the beginning of the war the navy had to stop hostile cruisers escaping from German ports, and to clear the seven seas of the cruisers already there. Of these latter there were ten in the distant theatres of the war on its outbreak; and within six months they and various auxiliary cruisers had been destroyed or

¹ All the various regulations were issued under the Defence of the Realm Act, familiarly known as D.O.R.A.

² Two-thirds of the food-stuffs eaten in the United Kingdom came from abroad, all the cotton and three-fourths of the wool; and the available supplies in the United Kingdom, at any one time, would not have lasted more than five or six weeks.

forced into neutral ports and interned. The *Goeben*, a battle cruiser, and the *Breslau* managed to escape into Constantinople—their successful arrival at the Bosphorus was one of the reasons why Turkey joined in the war against us. Five others managed to destroy part of a British squadron off the Pacific Coast; but they were soon afterwards themselves destroyed at the *Falkland Islands* (Dec. 1914). Later the navy, in their protection of commerce, had to meet a more formidable menace in the submarine—but of that we shall say something shortly.¹

The paramount duty of the navy, however, on which all else depended, was the *fifth*. This was to look after the German High Seas Fleet, to confine it to port, and to bring it—or

Naval Tactics. any portion of it—to action if it put to sea. That was the business of our Grand Fleet, in the first two years of the war under the command of Admiral Jellicoe (till Nov. 1916), and later under that of Admiral Beatty. But, of course, the conditions of naval warfare since our last great sea fight in Nelson's time were in many ways altered. It was not only that steam or oil-driven ironclads had displaced sailing vessels, or that the vessels themselves were much larger, and the range of their guns enormously extended.² For entirely new factors had been introduced. One was the underwater torpedo, discharged either from a submarine or a destroyer or a battleship. Another was the mine, laid under the sea, which exploded when brought into contact with a ship.

¹ The *Goeben* and the *Breslau* were "shadowed" by two British battle cruisers just before war was declared. Subsequently they slipped through the Straits of Messina, and were then sighted and followed by the *Gloucester* till they reached the Greek Archipelago; the British battle cruisers had been kept west and north of Sicily for fear lest the German ships should have attacked French troop transports from Algeria. The five German cruisers in the Pacific were commanded by Admiral von Spee, and destroyed, off Coronel in Chile, two ships of an inferior squadron under Admiral Cradock. The Admiralty immediately dispatched two battle cruisers under Admiral Sturdee to the Falkland Islands. The day after their arrival the five German ships, unaware of danger, appeared; and before evening they were all, except one, at the bottom of the sea. Of the other German cruisers the *Emden* had the greatest fame. In two months she made twenty-one captures, some of them very valuable; her greatest exploit was to sail with an additional false funnel, so as to resemble a British cruiser, to Penang, the island off the Malay Peninsula, and there to destroy a Russian cruiser and a French destroyer. Eventually ten Allied cruisers were after her; and she was caught and destroyed by the *Sydney*, an Australian armoured cruiser, off the Cocos Islands.

² Nelson's flagship, the *Victory*, was of 3400 tons, and its whole broadside only weighed 1160 lb., with a range of 1760 to 2500 yards. The *Iron Duke*, Jellicoe's flagship, had a displacement of 25,000 tons, and could throw a single projectile of 1200 lb., with a range of 18,000 to 20,000 yards.

Our battle fleet had always to beware of being drawn over prepared minefields, and the torpedo, with its extreme range of 15,000 yards, was still more to be feared.¹ Again, in the old days, ships could not slip away unperceived except in a fog or at night—but artificial smoke screens enabled a modern fleet to disappear.

The British fleet could no longer, under the new conditions, be kept, as in past ages, outside the enemies' ports. For the greater part of the war it was either in Scapa Flow or the Firth of Forth; and when it did come out, it had to be protected and flanked by large numbers of destroyers and by cruisers, and often preceded by mine-sweepers. For nearly two years the British Grand Fleet and the German High Seas Fleet saw no great engagement. But there were two minor actions in the North Sea;² and in the Near East, as we have seen, a portion of the fleet tried to force the Dardanelles. On the last day of May, 1916, came the *Battle of Jutland*—the only encounter of the two main fleets. But poor visibility robbed the British fleet of what appeared to be a splendid chance of victory. As it was, both sides expressed themselves satisfied. The German fleet maintained that, though met by a force superior in the ratio of eight to five, it inflicted twice as much damage as it suffered, and destroyed three battle cruisers; whilst Great Britain maintained that the German High Seas Fleet was so much battered that never again would it risk another fight.³

¹ For instance, a submarine torpedoed three armoured cruisers in the North Sea (Sept. 1914); and a mine destroyed the battleship *Audacious* off the Irish Coast (Oct. 1914). A torpedo is a steel fish-shaped body, travelling under water, and driven by compressed air; it carries a large charge of explosive, which is ignited on the torpedo striking any hard substance. Its speed during the war was up to 30 knots, i.e. to go 8000 yards it would take 8 minutes. If a torpedo was discharged at right angles on eight battleships in line one behind the other at the usual interval, the chances of hitting with each torpedo would be seven to nine. Therefore if a body of destroyers attacked battleships in order to discharge torpedoes, and no counter-attack by destroyers was immediately possible, the only remedy for the battleships was either to turn towards or turn away from the torpedo attack so as to present a smaller target.

² The Heligoland Bight (Aug. 1914), which cost the Germans three light cruisers and a destroyer; and the action of British and German battle cruisers off the Dogger Bank (Jan. 1915), an action that led to the destruction of a German armoured cruiser, and the pursuit of the German battle cruisers to within 70 miles of Heligoland.

³ The Battle of Jutland resolves itself into four phases. During the first hour, Beatty, with six battle cruisers and four battleships, the latter, however, being some distance away, fought five German battle cruisers which drew on Beatty south towards the main fleet; in

The German battle fleet had not succeeded in challenging Britain's sea power, and her commerce-destroying cruisers had done comparatively little damage. But the Germans, if they failed on the water, very nearly succeeded in their campaign under the water. With the beginning of 1915 submarines were used by the Germans for commerce destroying. In defiance of all international law and of the dictates of humanity, submarines attacked and sank without warning British and Allied merchant and passenger ships; and the torpedoing of the *Lusitania*¹ especially aroused the horror of the civilized world. The United States protested, and then the Germans made concessions—which they did not observe. At the beginning of 1917 the Germans declared their intention of pursuing *unrestricted* submarine warfare—all ships found in European waters, belonging to whatever nation, would be sunk without warning. The German naval authorities thought that their new policy would bring Great Britain to her knees within six months, and it certainly at first met with startling success. Out of every 100 ships leaving England, 25 never returned; and in April, the blackest month of all, nearly 900,000 tons of shipping, British, Allied, and neutral, were sunk, a far greater amount than could be replaced by fresh building.²

But the black month of April, 1917, saw also the beginning of the dawn. For it was then that the United States, her patience already exhausted by the breaches of international law and the atrocities previously committed by

United States
enters War, 1917.

this hour we lost two battle cruisers, the *Indefatigable* and *Queen Mary*. During the second hour Beatty, after sighting the German main fleet, retreated north, and he in turn drew the whole German fleet on to Jellicoe's main fleet. In the third phase the German High Seas Fleet, having sighted Jellicoe, in turn retreated S.S.W. Beatty, meantime, had got round the German fleet, and headed the English fleet, which was now east of the Germans. The British and German main fleets had a running fight, some 15,000 to 11,000 yards away, which, but for poor visibility, must have ended in the destruction of the German fleet. Finally, von Scheer, the German admiral, launched an attack with his battle cruisers on Beatty's battle cruisers, and a destroyer torpedo attack on the main fleet of Jellicoe's, who turned away to avoid it; and then, under cover of a smoke screen, the German fleet disappeared west. During the night, the fourth phase, there were destroyer attacks, but von Scheer managed to pass east behind the British main fleet and to escape. The tactics pursued at Jutland have been, and will be, a subject of considerable controversy amongst naval experts.

¹ The *Lusitania*, a gigantic Cunard Liner, was sunk off the Irish Coast in May, 1915, with a loss of just on 1200 lives, including 120 citizens of the United States.

² "The war is won for us," said Hindenburg in July, 1917, "if we can withstand the enemy attacks on land until the submarine has done its work."

Germany, determined, as a result of the unrestricted submarine campaign, to enter the war. At once she put her destroyers and battleships, and all her craft, above and below the surface, at the disposal of Great Britain and her Allies—and the American and British inventive genius was engrossed for the next few months in the task of mastering the deadly peril of the submarine.

The submarine was mastered. By the end of 1917 it had ceased to be a decisive factor in the war; and by March, 1918, more ships were being built by the Allies than were being destroyed. The failure of the submarine is Submarine Failure. one of the most remarkable things in the war; and it was brought about by a variety of causes. To begin with, Allied submarines were responsible for a good many German submarines. Moreover, there were the "mystery ships", innocent-looking merchantmen, which seemed to invite the torpedo; but when the submarine had fired its torpedo, and came to the surface to secure papers and valuables, the ship suddenly revealed guns against which the submarine was helpless.

In the summer of 1917 the convoy system was inaugurated, and the merchant ships were kept in large groups and protected by destroyers. Destroyers, because they could attack submarines by ramming or by depth charges¹ or by torpedoes, whilst they themselves were immune from torpedo attacks by their lack of depth and by their quickness, were the most deadly enemies of the submarine. The submarines, therefore, instead of attacking the convoys, tried to get the ships near the British home ports when the convoys were broken up.² But they found that they were attacked by small coastal motor-boats—sub-chasers as they were called—who could hear them thirty miles away by hydro-

¹ The depth charge looked like an innocent domestic "ash-can". Each destroyer carried thirty or forty of them, and, when dropped, a charge could destroy a submarine within 100 ft., and injure it, of course, at a greater distance.

² The Headquarters of the convoy system were at a room of the Admiralty in London. Here was a huge chart covering the whole of one wall; and on it were little paper boats representing the exact position of the various convoys. There were also little circles showing, so far as was known, the exact location of each submarine, and it was astonishing how much was known about their movements; one reason was because on their lonely voyages the submarines chattered so much with one another by wireless which we picked up. From London directions were "wirelessed" out to the convoys as to their course so as to avoid submarines. In this way the movements of some 10,000 ships were supervised in all parts of the world.

phones,¹ and could then destroy them by depth charges; or they might be "spotted" from the air and then attacked. Nor was this all. The Allies were successful in making the egress of submarines more difficult. Brilliant attacks on the harbours of Zeebrugge and Ostend in the spring of 1918 made submarine egress impossible for a time in the one case and complicated in the other. Then a new type of mine with wire filaments fifty yards long attached to it was used, and each filament could by an electric current explode the mine when a submarine came in contact with it. Minefields were enormously developed. The entrance to the Channel was made very difficult, an enormous minefield was laid between Norway and the Shetlands chiefly by the Americans, and another across the Straits of Otranto in the Mediterranean. The submarine danger, indeed, far more serious in the early part of 1917 than was at all generally realized at the time, looked in process, by the autumn of 1918 when the war ended, of being definitely overcome.²

The main interest of the year 1917, as we realize now, was in the submarine menace—if the submarine had succeeded, Great Britain must have been starved into submission. But other events of supreme importance occurred. One, as we have seen, was the entrance of the *United States* into the war in April—the black month for merchant ships. The other was the elimination of Russia from the war owing to the *Russian Revolution*.

The sufferings and losses of the Russians during the war had been appalling. Everything was lacking: rifles, guns, aeroplanes, food. The Russians had fought heroically and had made wonderful offensives, which, as we have seen, had helped to save their Western Allies at the Marne and at Verdun. But the huge forces became far too often simply fodder for the enemies' cannon. Discontent grew, and in

The Russian
Revolution, 1917.

¹ The hydrophone gave the direction of the submarine, and three boats acting abreast could locate the exact position of the submarine where the lines of direction intersected.

² Some statistics may be interesting. The monthly losses to Allied and neutral shipping steadily declined from 875,000 tons in April, 1917, to 112,427 in October, 1918. The Emergency Fleet Co-operation, created by the United States, built in a single year 3,100,000 tons of shipping; and in one shipping yard reduced the time necessary for building a ship to seventy days. Of 203 German submarines disposed of during the war, 35 were destroyed by depth charges, 34 by minefields, and 17 by submarines. The Allied minefield from Norway to Shetland Islands was 230 miles in length, 15 to 20 miles broad, 240 ft. deep, and 70,000 mines were laid.

March, 1917, food riots in Petrograd developed into revolution, and the Czar was forced to abdicate. For a time the moderate element in the Revolution Party was supreme and was loyal to the Allies. The Russian army even attempted another offensive in Galicia in July. But, as happens so often in revolutions, the power quickly passed to the extremists. Indiscipline soon spread to the army. The Russian offensive was checked, became a retreat, and soon ended in a rout. Before long there was no longer an organized front in Russia—the Germans could break in where they chose. The power in Russia passed to a most extreme party, the *Bolsheviks*, under Lenin and Trotsky, who before the end of the year had made an armistice with the Germans. Soon after the opening of 1918 came the disastrous peace of *Brest-Litovsk* in which Russia lost all her western provinces, including Poland and the Baltic Provinces.

Meantime, in 1917, the war on the Western Front went on with unabated vigour. The Allies were on the offensive, whilst the Germans, relying on the submarine warfare, were on the defensive. At the beginning of the year the 1917, Western Front. Germans made a big retreat on the Somme, abandoning Peronne and Bapaume; they retired to a stronger line, known as the Hindenburg line, and systematically devastated the country through which they passed, so as to make further advance in that sector on our part impossible for some time. In April occurred the Battle of Arras, in the course of which the Canadians secured the *Vimy Ridge*, north of Arras, a position of great importance.¹ But in the same month a great offensive by the French on the Chemin-des-Dames, which ran north of the Aisne and north of Reims and Soissons, was a failure; and the failure led to the retirement of General Nivelle, who had succeeded General Joffre in the command of the French armies.²

For the rest of the year both British and French fought

¹ The British captured at the Battle of Arras nearly 20,000 prisoners, over 250 guns, and over 450 machine-guns; the battle freed Arras from any danger, and was much the biggest British success up to that time.

² Nivelle hoped to get Laon in the first day. Unfortunately the Germans had captured two months earlier an order which referred to the great offensive. As to who was responsible for its failure is a great matter of controversy. But no failure was so dispiriting to the French nation and troops as this.

offensives with what were called "limited" objectives. The British object was to clear Ypres and to widen the salient there, as the narrowness of this salient had cost the British thousands of lives. A very successful attack under General Plumer gave the British the *Messines Ridge*, to the south of Ypres, in June. From August to November came, under General Gough, a campaign in the *Flanders* country north of Ypres, the final object of which was to secure the *Passchendaele Ridge*. But the wetness of the weather, which converted the ground into a sea of mud, the consequent comparative failure of the tanks, and the skilfully-constructed "pill-boxes"¹ of the enemy, made progress very slow, and our final occupation of the ridge was only secured after appalling casualties. Meantime the French made two offensives under General Pétain, their new Commander-in-Chief. The one on the left bank of the Meuse finally cleared Verdun, and the other, by a flank attack, forced the Germans to give up the Chemin-des-Dames.²

But the Allies, before the year 1917 was out, had two disappointments. In the first place, the Italians after an unsuccessful offensive were themselves attacked on the north-east front at Caporetto. *Caporetto* (Oct.). Six German divisions, which had been lent to the Austro-Hungarian army, formed the spear-head. The Italians made a disastrous retreat, and found no halting-place till, after enormous losses, they got behind the river Piave, where British and French troops came to strengthen them. The enemy, as they had disposed of Serbia in the autumn of 1915 and of Roumania in 1916, very nearly broke up the Italian defence in 1917. And of all their triumphs, the Italian was perhaps the greatest.³

¹ They were oblongs of cement with various chambers inside, and slits through which machine-guns could fire in all directions.

² The flanking movement was made at Laffaux Corner just at the angle of the German line; it was highly successful—the German losses were very serious, and several divisions were destroyed.

³ The Austro-Italian battle-front was at this time in two salients: in the west in the Trentino, an Austrian salient or outward curve towards the Italian line; and in the east, an Italian salient or outward curve towards the Austrian line. The Germans and Austrians made a surprise attack at Caporetto, between Tolmino and Mount Rombon, where the line was thinly held. The original break in the line was due to a German division, which in a dense mist marched up a road and got right behind a corps stationed in the heights above it. Besides territory and stores and munitions, the Italians lost in their retreat a quarter of a million prisoners and 1800 guns, and had, in addition, a quarter of a million casualties.

The second disappointment was on the British front. Hitherto for some days or even weeks before an intended offensive the artillery had begun to batter the enemy's positions. Opposite *Cambrai*, however, on a day in November, ^{Cambrai.} the British forces under Byng, with no preliminary bombardment, made a surprise attack supported by tanks, and aided by fog, real and artificial. The attack was brilliantly successful—on no previous day had the British gained so much ground. But the initial success could not be followed up; the Germans counter-attacked and the British lost much of what they had gained. Nevertheless the tactics employed opened a new epoch in the war. The Germans themselves admit that it gave them valuable hints for an offensive battle in the West, hints of which, as we shall see, they made full use in the next year.¹

Two notable successes, however, the one towards the beginning and the other towards the end of 1917, must be chronicled. The British under General Maude renewed an offensive in Mesopotamia, recovered Kut, and then ^{Bagdad and Jerusalem.} in March captured *Bagdad*, and before the end of the year they had driven the enemy 100 miles north of the latter city. Then, in the last quarter of the year, General Allenby had a most successful offensive in Palestine, turned the Turkish position in front of Gaza, and made his entry into *Jerusalem*. For the first time since 1187, Jerusalem was once again controlled by a Christian country—and appropriately enough General Allenby made his entry less than a fortnight before Christmas Day.

(By the beginning of the year 1918 it was quite clear that the submarine would not accomplish the downfall of Great Britain, and with her of her Allies. The Germans, therefore, had to stake all on a big offensive in the West before ^{1918, German} the Americans were ready. With Russia disposed ^{Offensives.} of they could bring across hundreds of thousands of men

¹ The causes of failure to push home a success seemed to have been that the cavalry, who were to have charged through, were held up at one place by a broken bridge; that the tanks were held up in another place by a single German gunner who knocked over five; and that on the left Bourlon Wood was untaken. This was the first battle in which tanks were really successfully used on a large scale. In the first attack, on a front of 13,000 yards, an advance of 12,000 yards was made in twelve hours—in the fighting just previously in the Ypres district such an advance had taken three months.

from the Eastern to the Western Front, and Ludendorff thought that the odds were three to one in his favour. Accordingly in five successive months the Germans made five offensives.)

In *March* began the first; its objective was to take *Amiens*, the great railway junction and nodal point of our communications,

and thereby to separate the British and French armies.

Amiens. The Germans had profited by the lessons of Cambrai, and they made a surprise attack on the British Third and Fifth Armies in front of Cambrai and St. Quentin. Against the left of the Third Army they made little headway at first; but with forty divisions against fourteen they broke through Gough's Fifth Army near St. Quentin, where the line was thinly held owing to lack of men. Both British armies had to retreat a long way, as well as the French to the south. All our gains on the Somme went, together with enormous losses of men and material. But the Germans got a severe reverse as they pushed on to attack the British left at Arras; and they failed to occupy, except for part of one day, the village of Villers-Bretonneux, from which they could have commanded *Amiens*,¹ and the loss of *Amiens* might have involved the loss of the war. Meantime British reinforcements—355,000 in a month—were hurried across the Channel; and the position outside *Amiens* was gradually stabilized. The Germans had not yet given the knock-out blow.

The next offensive was in Flanders in *April*. It was on the *Ypres* front from La Bassée to Dixmude, and seemed to have for its objective the Channel ports or heights which com-
Channel
Ports. manded them. Again it met with initial success.² The Allies lost all their gains so hardly won in 1917, including the Messines and Passchendaele Ridges, and, in addition, they lost *Mount Kemmel*—and *Ypres* became a more pronounced salient than ever. But again the offensive stopped short of complete

¹ Hindenburg sees the importance of this in his *Memoirs*: "We ought to have shouted in the ear of every single man, 'Press on to Amiens! Put in your last ounce. Perhaps Amiens means decisive victory. Capture Villers-Bretonneux whatever happens, so that from its height we can command Amiens with masses of our heavy artillery'. It was all in vain; our strength was exhausted."

² The Portuguese divisions holding part of the line between Neuve Chapelle and Bois Grenier were overwhelmed, and through this gap the Germans poured and outflanked the Allies.

success.¹ The two offensives of March and April, however, had cost the British alone nearly 400,000 in killed and wounded, besides 80,000 prisoners. But the troops, though outnumbered and driven back, had not lost heart. Their defence had been, in the words of their Commander-in-Chief, Lord Haig, "patient, dauntless, and successful". And, as a consequence, the Germans had not obtained Amiens or the Channel ports or the places which commanded them.

May saw an offensive farther south-west. The Germans attacked the Chemin-des-Dames and achieved instant success. They advanced ten miles a day, captured thousands of prisoners, and got once more, at Château-Thierry, to the Marne and within forty miles of Paris. An offensive in *June* did not amount to much. But on *July 15th*, the Germans made what was destined to be their last offensive on both sides of *Reims*. This, however, achieved little success on one side; on the other Reims. it was an entire failure, owing to the new tactics of the French, who had their front line lightly held with machine-guns, and had their real defensive position some way back. The Germans rushed over the first position only to find themselves a prey to the French artillery defending the second.

This was destined to be the last German offensive. The Germans had won brilliant tactical successes, but strategically they had failed. Amiens and Cassel, Paris and Reims, were untaken—and the Allied spirit was unconquerable.

On *July* the 18th began the great Allied offensive, which was not to stop till, 116 days later, the Germans, broken and dispirited, had to agree to all the demands of the The Allied Offensive. Allies. For this remarkable change of fortune many causes may be suggested. The German military effort was spent, and the Allied propaganda, and especially that organized by Lord Northcliffe, was beginning to have its effect on the *morale* of the Germans. The Allies again became increasingly superior in munitions. Moreover, they developed new and

¹ The Germans failed to get Givenchy—one of the pivots of the British front; they failed to get two hills beyond Mount Kemmel; and they failed to get Cassel, from which point they might have shelled Boulogne and Calais. Cassel is splendidly situated on a solitary hill, over 500 ft. high, and from the hill thirty-one towns and a hundred villages can be seen, as well as the sea.

successful methods of attack—narrow but deep penetration of the enemies' line by tanks and infantry after short but extraordinarily violent artillery preparation.

But above all the success of the Allies was due to four things. Unity had already been achieved on the home fronts. The three great democratic countries had each found their dictators—M. Clemenceau was supreme in France, President Wilson in the United States, and Mr. Lloyd George in Great Britain—and all their energies were devoted unceasingly to winning the war. Unity had also been achieved at sea; for the British Admiralty had co-ordinated the naval efforts of the Allies in the successful fighting of the German submarine. And now at last unity was secured on land. At the end of March, *General Foch* was appointed to co-ordinate the activities of the Allied forces on the Western Front, and soon afterwards became their Commander-in-Chief. "Nothing is so important in war," said Napoleon, "as an undivided command." The Allies had at last secured an undivided command; and in Marshal Foch they had found a commander whose name may be put by the side of the great Napoleon himself.¹

And the second great cause of success was that the American soldiers began to come over in ever-increasing quantities. For the first year after their entry the numbers had been disappointing. But the need of the Allies spurred them to superhuman efforts. No less than 30,000 Americans began to come in every month—and these soldiers, though they had no experience, had all the energy and vitality of fresh troops. The Americans who had helped to overcome the submarine in 1917 were now to help the Allies no less efficiently in 1918. The third great

¹ Marshal Foch was a profound student of the history and art of war, and had been first professor and then commandant of the French Staff College. He had made his reputation at the first Battle of the Marne in 1914, and had found himself in the third month of the war commanding generals who had commanded him in the first month. In 1918 he was, though sixty-six years of age, quick and active in his movements. Plenty of gesture accompanied his remarks: two blows in the air with his fists, followed by two kicks, showed the fate destined for his enemies! "No victory is possible," he says in one of his books, "unless the commander be energetic, eager for responsibility and bold undertakings, and can impart to all the resolute will of seeing the thing through." Foch had all these qualities—and especially the last. One little remark shows his conception of the importance of "quick decision and instant action in battle". He never said, "A battle begins", but always, "A battle is off", as of horses starting in a race.

cause was the constant and growing pressure of the blockade of Germany by the Allied fleet, which had gradually worn down the physical and moral power of resistance of the German army and people. The "will to victory" of the German people disappeared—they would do no more, because they actually could do no more. The last and most important cause of all was the moral ardour of the Allies. Marshal Foch compares the spirit of the Allies who fought against the Germans in 1918 with the spirit of the Prussians who fought against Napoleon in 1814. In each case there was the same ardour, the same fire, the same confidence in victory, born of belief in a just cause—that is the real explanation of the Prussian victory in 1814 as of the Allies in 1918.

The first of the Allied offensives began on *July 18th*. The Germans in their advance to *Château-Thierry* on the Marne had made a great salient or bulge in their line. Foch attacked this bulge on its western flank, on a 27-mile front, between Soissons and Château-Thierry. The Germans in the salient had consequently the greatest difficulty in escaping, and only succeeded with great losses. With this success the initiative passed definitely to the Allies.¹ The River Marne, which had been fatal to German ambitions in 1914, was thus again fatal to them four years later in 1918.

The second great offensive on *August 8th* was a Franco-British one to clear the Paris-Amiens line, and to enlarge the field of battle north and south. Rawlinson's Fourth Army was to attack on both sides of the *Villers-Bretonneux road*, and the French farther to the right. The Fourth Army, after a brief but intense bombardment by no less than 2000 guns, attacked on both sides of the road, the Australians on one side and Canadians on the other, led by 400 tanks, and helped by real and artificial fog, and it got seven miles on the first day. The French also made a great advance. August 8th was, in the words of Ludendorff, "the black day" for the German army in the history of the war; and it was on this day that he came to

¹ This attack not only put an end to any thrust against Paris, but led to the capture of 30,000 prisoners, 800 guns, and 6000 machine-guns—and that at a time when the Allies were inferior in numbers to the Germans.

the conclusion that the war must be ended.¹ Villers-Bretonneux is indeed an historical place in the history of the war; for it was there that the first German offensive in 1918 was held up, and it was from there that the British decisive offensive in the same year began.

The attacks then continued unceasingly, but on different parts of the line. For this was Foch's strategy. The situation of the enemy was, as Foch said, "infernally". The battle would begin on one part of the line, and the enemy sent his reserves there—hardly had this been done when it began again elsewhere, and then again in a third place. And yet all these attacks were co-ordinated for a common end. Thus, the French followed up the successes of August the 8th by two attacks farther south. Then Byng's third army attacked between Albert and Arras, captured Bapaume and Peronne,² and gained in ten days what had not been secured by the British in 1916 in four months. At the beginning of September, the First Army under Horne attacked still farther north; and then the American army wiped out the St. Mihiel salient in the south-east, and opened up the way to Metz.³

At the end of September came the hardest fight of all, to break through what the Allies called the *Hindenburg Line*, a series of lines or positions in some places ten miles in depth.⁴ On this line a whole series of attacks was made. The Americans attacked between Verdun and the Argonne, and the French between Argonne and Reims. The British made one attack which gained them the Canal du Nord, and another which led to the storming of the Canal St. Quentin and the Hindenburg Line—both

¹ "This was the worst of the experiences," says Ludendorff, "that I had to go through. Six or seven divisions, which could certainly be described as battle-worthy, had been completely broken. The losses of the enemy, on the other hand, were extremely small."

² Peronne was captured through the magnificent assault of Mount St. Quentin by the Australians, a hill just north of it.

³ Marshal Foch contrasts the strategy of the Allies in 1918 with that pursued by Ludendorff. The latter planned and executed an offensive perfectly; but his offensive had no perspective. Ludendorff thought out the first act but not the second and third; he thought of the day and the following week, but not of the following months.

⁴ What the Allies called the Hindenburg Line was called by the Germans a series of names after the heroes of mythology. There was the Woden position in front of Lille, and the Siegfried in front of Cambrai and St. Quentin; then came the Alberich, Brunhilde, the Kreimhilde (from Argonne to Verdun), and other lines behind some of these.

amongst the most astonishing feats of the war.¹ Farther north the French, Belgian, and British, by a combined attack, once again cleared the Ypres salient, and retook the Messines and Passchendaele Ridges.

But meantime, in the second half of September, the Allies had achieved decisive successes elsewhere. First came the battle of the *Vardar*, where combined operations on the Salonika front, first of the Serbs and French, and Bulgaria's Fall. then of the British and Greeks, broke through the Bulgarian defences. Within ten days Bulgaria petitioned for an armistice, and within fifteen she had surrendered—the most startling change in the whole history of the war (Sept. 30). As a result, Serbia was recovered, Bulgaria was occupied by the Allies, and the German communications with Turkey were finally and completely broken.

Almost at the same time came a brilliant offensive by Allenby in *Palestine*—an offensive chiefly conducted by Indian troops. After the British capture of Jerusalem, the opposing lines ran from the sea-coast, just north of Joppa east Turkey's Fall. to just north of Jericho. Allenby's infantry broke through the Turkish lines by the coast; then the cavalry burst through the gap, rode some forty miles, and cut off the retreat of two Turkish armies, whilst the air-forces bombed with deadly effect the road through which others tried to retire. Meantime, on the other side of the Jordan, the Arabs, who were allied with us, "mopped up" any Turks that escaped east. The Battles of Megiddo, as they are called, were rapidly followed up. Before the end of September came the fall of Damascus; in another month Allenby had reached Aleppo and the junction of the railway leading to Mesopotamia. By the end of October, Turkey had petitioned for an armistice, and was out of the war.

The third success came in *Italy*. In June the Austrians had

¹ The Canal du Nord was a dry and uncompleted canal joining the Scheldt and the Somme; it runs about seven miles west of Cambrai, and then S.S.W. to two miles west of Peronne. Ludendorff says that every possible step had been taken here to resist the enemy attack. The St. Quentin canal was more or less parallel to the Canal du Nord, but east of it; between St. Quentin and Cambrai it is full of water, and has various tunnels. The 46th Midlands Division managed to get across the open part of the canal with rafts and belts from cross-channel steamers; and one of the Staffordshire battalions captured a bridge as the Germans were on the point of blowing it up.

tried a great offensive across the Piave, but though successful at first, they had been completely repulsed. Then, in Austria's Fall. October, the Italians, aided by the British and the French, took the offensive; and the Austro-Hungarian army was soon in disorderly flight.¹ Revolutions broke out in various parts of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, and by the beginning of November Austria-Hungary had ceased to be a factor in the war.

Meantime, the Germans on the Western Front had been given no rest. In the north the Germans had to evacuate the Germany's Fall. whole Belgian coast; and farther south Lille was evacuated. The British fought another battle on a twenty-mile front, took Cambrai, and continued to make further advances and win more battles. The Americans forced the forest of the Argonne, and with the French made a rapid advance north. The Germans were in a hopeless position. Ludendorff resigned, and the Germans petitioned for an armistice, which was granted on severe terms. At 11 a.m. on Nov. 11 the armistice came into operation. The 100 days' offensive was over, and had ended in the most triumphant success.² Two days before it ended, in consequence of a revolutionary movement which started in the navy, the German Kaiser sought protection from his own subjects by a flight to Holland; and with his flight came the fall of all the other ruling princes in Germany.

But we have not yet exhausted all the fields of war, for during

¹ The Italian line now ran from the sea, first along the River Piave north-west, then more or less due west to the Austro-Italian frontier, and then due north along that frontier. The attack was made across the Piave, towards *Vittoria Veneto*, and struck at the dividing line between the two Austrian armies, the one facing south and the other south-west; its aim was to separate one Austrian army from the other, and both from their bases. Two British divisions and two Italian divisions, under Lord Cavan, were to make the main attack. The British division had to be moved to the front of attack without the Austrians discovering the fact. Consequently reconnaissances were made by British officers who wore Italian uniform, and all the forward British troops were similarly disguised; and not a single British gun was fired before the attack begun. Before the River Piave could be crossed, an island had to be captured, and this was done by a fleet of little boats.

² By the time of the armistice the Belgians had arrived at Ghent, the British at Mons, where they began the war, the French at Mézières, and the Americans at Sedan. The British Empire forces had alone, in the three months of fighting, taken on the Western Front 187,000 prisoners, 2850 guns, 29,000 machine guns; and altogether the number was 385,000 prisoners and 6600 guns. At the beginning of the offensive, on July 15, 1918, the Germans had 80 divisions in reserve; at the armistice they had only 15 to throw into the line, whilst the Allies had 100.

GERMAN METHODS

the four years all the German colonies and outposts were captured. In the Far East, in 1914, the Japanese, together with some British troops, took Tsingtau (Kiao-Chau), ^{German Colonies.} the German trading port in China; and Australians and New Zealanders seized the German islands in the Pacific. In Africa, the French and British took the Cameroons in 1914, whilst the South Africans took German South-West Africa in 1915. But in East Africa the Germans held out with great pertinacity against the British and South Africans, and not till towards the end of 1917 did German East Africa finally fall to the Allies.

The war was over. The Germans, our chief opponents, had fought throughout with extraordinary tenacity and skill; and they had, at times, been near decisive success. Their fighting ^{German} qualities are to be admired. But they had waged the ^{Methods.} war with a brutality and callousness which finds no parallel till we go back to the terrible Thirty Years' War in the seventeenth century. They had made numerous air-raids on towns in Great Britain and France, which did much harm to the civilian population. They had made use of gas and other chemical devices which were forbidden by international law: and they had shown the most barbarous cruelty to many of their prisoners. But that does not exhaust their offences. In Belgium, especially, they had committed many enormities by wholesale shootings and deportations of civilians. In France they had wilfully destroyed factories and mines so as to impoverish the country for years. And the horrors they perpetrated at sea through their submarines, chiefly on British merchant ships, were so numerous that the story of them became almost monotonous. The war which Germany had brought on Europe cost the European nations thousands of millions of pounds, and it left a long ribbon of completely devastated country from the sea to Verdun. But the most tragic feature of the war was the loss to Europe of the best of her manhood, and the misery and unhappiness that loss brought to millions of homes.¹

¹ The war cost 50,000 million pounds and led to the enlisting of 50 millions of armed men; there were 30 million casualties and no less than 8 million deaths. In France alone 21,000 factories, 630,000 houses, and 1659 townships were completely destroyed. The National Debt of France was in 1914 before the war 25 billion francs—in 1921 it was 302 billion francs. The National Debt of Great Britain was in 1914 before the war £708 millions—it was in 1919 £7435 millions.

The best short accounts of the war are those by Professor Pollard (Methuen), and Mr. C. R. L. Fletcher (John Murray). The naval warfare is shortly sketched in Stevens and Westcott's *History of Sea Power*, chaps. 16-18 (Doran of New York). Jellicoe's *Grand Fleet, 1914-16*, gives his account of the war, and Corbett's *Naval Operations*, now in course of publication, is the official history. Admiral Sims's *Victory at Sea* is indispensable for the submarine struggle. Books by von Tirpitz, Admiral Scheer (*Germany's High Seas Fleet*), and von Hase (*Kiel and Jutland*) give the German view. Books on the land operations are innumerable. Falkenhayn's *General Headquarters, 1914-16*, and Ludendorff's *My War Memories*, give the operations from the German view. On the opening stages Maurice's *Forty Days in 1914* is quite excellent, and his book on *The Last Forty Days* is good. Masfield's *Gallipoli* is a literary masterpiece. Callwell's *Life of General Maude* gives the story of the Bagdad advance, and Massey's *Allenby's Final Triumph* of the Palestine campaign. New military books are well reviewed in the *Times Literary Supplement*, and the *Army Quarterly* contains articles and reviews. The best small atlas is the *Chronology of the War Atlas* (Constable & Co.); and the best guide to the Western Front is Muirhead's, in the *Blue Guides* (Macmillan & Co.). At the Crystal Palace is the National War Museum—admirably arranged.

III. Problems of Peace, 1918-21

The war was over. But the problems of peace were no less great than those of war; and though the armistice came in November, 1918, the final solution to all of them had not been obtained by 1921. Many important conferences were held by the Allied Statesmen, at which various questions were discussed, and if possible decided. Of these conferences far the largest and most important was that held in *Paris* during the first half of 1919, to which all the Allied Powers sent delegates. A few plenary meetings representing the delegates from all the Allied Powers, great and small, were held; but the main work of the settlement was done by the representatives of the five principal Allied Powers—France, the United States, Great Britain, Italy, and Japan. At first two representatives from each of these Powers composed what was called the "Council of Ten"; but even that number was found too large.

The Paris
Conference,
1919.



Before long, the task of decision was confined to the "Big Four": M. Clemenceau, the veteran Prime Minister of France; Mr. Wilson, the President of the United States; Mr. Lloyd George, Prime Minister of the United Kingdom; Signor Orlando, Prime Minister of Italy. And when Signor Orlando for a time retired, owing to a disagreement about Fiume, the work was carried on by the "Big Three". Besides settling a host of other questions, the "Big Four" and the "Big Three" were mainly responsible for the most difficult task of all—the settling of the terms of peace with Germany, which, together with the written constitution of the League of Nations, was embodied in the Treaty of *Versailles* (June, 1919). Subsequent conferences and discussions led to the Treaties of *Saint-Germain* (September, 1919) and of *Sèvres* (May, 1920), which settled respectively the problems arising out of the downfall of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and of the old Turkish Empire.

What was the general result of these treaties and of subsequent modifications of them? Territorially the treaties attempted, so far as was practicable and reasonable, to redive
The Peace Settlement.
 Europe on the basis of *self-determination*, of allowing peoples with a distinct culture or language or historical tradition to compose independent states. In the south-east the territory of Turkey in Europe was reduced to Constantinople and a small strip of land outside it—whilst the League of Nations was given control of the Straits and the land on either side. On the other hand the Kingdom of *Roumania* was more than doubled in area, and that of Greece greatly increased;¹ whilst the Kingdom of *Jugo-Slavia* was created to include Serbia, Montenegro, and the Slav provinces that belonged before the war to the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. *Austria* and *Hungary* remained as independent republics, though much shorn of their territories. For besides what was given to Roumania and Jugo-Slavia, part—the Trentino and Istria and Trieste—went to Italy;² part, including Bohemia, became the new Republic of Czecho-Slovakia; and Galicia was merged in the new Republic of Poland, which included

¹ Roumania's gains included Bessarabia (from Russia), Transylvania and Bukovina (from Austria-Hungary). Those of Greece included Thrace and the country including Adrianople, which used to belong to Turkey, several islands in the *Ægean*, and Smyrna.

² Fiume, the port, has a special status and is a free city.

also territory formerly belonging to Russia and to Germany.¹ *Germany*, besides giving up the part of Poland that the Hohenzollerns had seized in the eighteenth century, had also to give up to France Alsace-Lorraine, which she had taken from her in 1871, and the north half of Sleswig, which she had taken from Denmark in 1864. She had to allow the Saar Valley coal-field area for fifteen years to be worked by the French in reparation for the wanton destruction which she had inflicted on the French coal-mining area.² She also had to agree to pay, in reparation, both in kind and money, some part of the huge destruction she wrought on the Allied countries on land, by sea, and by air. Until she had paid what was due to the Allies, the left bank of the Rhine was put in Allied occupation. Effective steps were taken to reduce her military capacity, at all events during this generation, to inflict another war upon Europe.

Of the old Empire of *Russia*, part, as we have seen, went to Roumania and to Poland. In addition various republics fashioned themselves in the Baltic, such as Finland and Esthonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. The position of Russia remains uncertain. The Bolshevik leaders have so far been able to put down all attempts to overthrow them, but it is probable that their methods of government will have to be completely altered.

As to the territorial settlement outside Europe, the main problems arose out of the disposal of the German colonies and the territories that before the war had been controlled by the Turkish Empire. The system of *mandates*—of domains administered by various European nations under the auspices of the League of Nations—was inaugurated. In Africa, part of the German colonies went to France, part to Belgium and Portugal, whilst the Union of South Africa was given German South-West Africa, and to Great Britain was assigned German East Africa and a part of Togoland and the

¹ The new Republic of Poland had not as large a territory as the old kingdom in the eighteenth century, before its partition by Russia, Prussia, and Austria. Its capital is Warsaw, and its chief port Dantzic, which, however, has been made a free town, though Poland is allowed special facilities there. When attacked by Bolshevik Russia, in 1920, Poland made a dramatic and successful counter-attack.

² At the end of fifteen years the inhabitants of the Saar Valley are to decide whether they want to belong to France or Germany.

Cameroons. Of the German possessions in the Far East Kiao Chau went to Japan, and the Islands in the Pacific to Japan, Australia, and New Zealand. Similarly, with regard to the Turkish possessions, whilst Asia Minor in the main was left to the Turks, Syria and Cilicia came under the guardianship of France, and Palestine and Mesopotamia under that of Great Britain; and in Egypt the Protectorate of Great Britain was recognized. Other parts of Turkish territories, like Armenia and Arabia, became self-governing or independent.

Reference has been made to the *League of Nations*. At the end of the war, there was amongst all the Allies an intense desire that the Great War should be the last. Mr. ^{League of Nations.} Wilson, the President of the United States, General Smuts, now Prime Minister of South Africa, and Lord Robert Cecil were the three who had the greatest share in translating that desire into action. The result was the Covenant of the League of Nations, which became part of the Treaty of Versailles. Under it, representatives of the five great Powers, with representatives of four other nations of the League, formed the Council, whilst representatives of all the Powers joining the League composed the Assembly of the League of Nations. Arrangements were also made for the inclusion of new members.¹ Provision was made, not only for the settlement of disputes between Powers, but also for an economic boycott of any Power who acted in disregard of the wishes of the League. Moreover, the League was to secure fair and humane conditions of labour, just treatment for natives, and to assist in the prevention of disease and other matters. To the constitution of the League of Nations as at first arranged, and to various articles in the Covenant, objections have been urged—and so strongly were these objections felt that the United States Senate refused to ratify the treaty. Experience will no doubt lead to the amendment of the Covenant in various particulars, or perhaps to the drafting of an entirely new Covenant. But that in some such League lies the greatest hope for the future of mankind is the belief held by many statesmen of the present day; and the prophecy of General Smuts may come true: "I am confident that the League of Nations will yet prove

¹ Thus Austria has been included.

the path of escape for Europe out of the ruin brought about by the war."

The problems of the war and of peace absorbed public attention from 1914-21. But affairs at home were of great importance. During the course of the war, in 1918, two great measures were passed, neither of which would probably have passed, Home Affairs. at all events for some years, if the war had not existed. One was the *Representation of the People Act*, which conferred the franchise on women, and made them eligible for juries and for membership of Parliament, &c. The other was a great *Education Act*, providing, amongst other things, for compulsory continuation schools for eight hours a week for "young people", first from fourteen to sixteen years of age, and eventually from sixteen to eighteen,¹ and allowing local Education Authorities to prohibit boys and girls being employed out of school hours before the age of fourteen. When the law comes into full operation, the youth of Great Britain will receive partial education, at all events, from the age of five to eighteen, and Great Britain will be well started on the way to becoming an educated democracy—the greatest need of the present day.

Just after the Armistice, Mr. Lloyd George appealed to the country, and a general election returned him to power with an enormous majority. There followed in England, as was inevitable after the war, a great period of industrial unrest and of many strikes. Prices went soaring up; and the workers demanded and obtained higher wages, not only to meet the increased cost of living but to improve their conditions of life. As a consequence, prices went higher, and increased wages had to follow. At first, after the war, there was employment for all; but with rising prices came finally less demand for goods, and in the latter half of 1920 began a very severe depression in trade. The problem before Great Britain is how at one and the same time to secure improved conditions for the wage-earners who provide the manual labour, and reasonable profits for the money-savers who risk their capital and provide the enterprise and organization, and yet to keep the price of production low enough to allow Great Britain to compete, and to compete with success, in the markets of the world. And it is a problem which is still unsolved.

¹ These schools, for those from fourteen to fifteen, were started in London in 1922.

Unrest, however, was not confined to Great Britain. *Ireland* at the beginning of the war, owing to the influence of Mr. Redmond, provided many recruits. But others in *Ireland*. Ireland favoured the Germans, and in 1916 there was a rebellion, which was, however, put down without much difficulty. A new party, the *Sinn Féiners* ("Ourselves alone"), then arose in Ireland who demanded complete independence. They would not accept a new Home Rule Bill (1920) which divided Ireland into two provinces, with provision for their eventual union if desired. They began a series of murderous attacks on police and soldiers, which led to reprisals, and the condition of Ireland quickly got worse and worse.¹

But beyond Great Britain there was also dissatisfaction, as in *Egypt*, and here arrangements are proposed which will give the Egyptians in effect self-government. Meantime, in *India* ^{The} *Empire*. the educated classes demanded a larger share in the government of the country, and the result was that a new Bill was passed which transferred certain functions of government to popularly elected assemblies, and which provided for further functions being transferred later.² The problem Great Britain has to face in these distant lands is how to combine self-government with good government, and how to secure that under so-called self-government the weaker and more illiterate classes should receive due consideration.

A very interesting advance in the position of the self-governing Dominions and of India in the Congress of Paris in 1919 must finally be noted. At that conference they had separate representatives, and they signed the Peace Treaty as independent entities. Moreover, they have representatives in the Assembly of the League of Nations. Thus a further step in British Imperial history was taken. But that the Dominions and India value the

¹ The speech of the King at Belfast (June, 1921) may prove to be the beginning of a happier period.

² The Government of India Bill (1919) provides for two Legislative Assemblies representing all India; one the Council of State, and the other the Legislative Assembly. It secures for these assemblies a large measure of control, both as regards legislation and finance. Then there is in each Province a Legislative Council, and ministers, chosen by the Governor from the Legislative Council, are directly responsible to this Council for the administration of certain subjects. Other subjects continue, however, to remain under the control of the Governor and his official Executive Council, composed of British and Indian members.

link with the Mother Country, especially that provided by the Crown, is evidenced by the reception given to and the influence exerted by the visits of the Prince of Wales to the Dominions and of the Duke of Connaught to India in 1920-21. At an Imperial Conference of Prime Ministers of Great Britain and the Over-seas Dominions, and representatives from India, held in London in the summer of 1921, matters of great moment to the whole Empire were discussed.

Summary of Great War, 1914-8

B = Battle. C = Capture (Allied success). F = Fall (Allied loss).
O = Offensive. P = Peace.

Western Front.	Eastern Front.	Maritime and extra-European.
1914. F. of Liège (Aug. 7). B. of Marne (Sept.). Race to sea (Sept. to Nov.). F. of Antwerp (Oct.).	B. of Tannenberg (Aug.). <i>Turkey enters war</i> (Oct.). Russian Galician O. (Dec. to April).	C. of Kiao-Chau (Nov.). B. of Falkland Isles (Dec.).
1915. <i>Italy joins Allies</i> (May). Allied Champagne and Northern O. (Sept.).	German O. against Russia (April to Sept.). Gallipoli Expedition (April to Dec.). <i>Bulgaria enters war</i> (Oct.). Serbian overthrow (Oct.). Russian O. in south (June).	B. off Dogger Bank (Jan.). <i>Lusitania</i> sunk (May).
1916. German O. at Verdun (Feb. to June). Austrian Trentino O. (May). Somme O. (July to Nov.). Italian Isonzo O. (Aug. to Nov.).	German O. in Roumania (Oct. to Dec.).	C. of Erzerum (Feb.). F. of Kut (April). B. of Jutland (May).
1917. German Somme retreat (Feb.). B. of Arras; Chemin-des-Dames O. (April). <i>U.S.A. joins Allies</i> (April). Flanders O. (Aug. to Nov.). Caporetto disaster (Oct.). B. of Cambrai (Nov.).	Russian Revolution begins (March). Bolshevists supreme (Nov.).	Unrestricted submarine warfare begins (Jan.). C. of Bagdad (March). The "Black Month" (April). C. of Jerusalem Dec.
1918. German O. for Amiens, Channel Ports, Reims, and Paris (March to July). Foch Commander-in-Chief (April). Allies' 100 days' O. (July to Nov.). Italian O. (Oct.). German armistice (Nov.).	P. of Brest-Litovsk (March). B. of Vardar and Bulgaria yields (Sept.). Turkish armistice (Oct.).	Conquest of German East Africa completed (Dec.). Allenby's Palestine C. (Sept.).

TIME CHARTS
CHIEF EVENTS, 1689-1921

CHIEF EVENTS, 1760-1815

Sovereign.	Prime Minister.	Great and Greater Britain.	Dates.	Foreign Powers.	Dates.
	NEWCASTLE (with PITT), BUTE, GRENVILLE. ROCKINGHAM, CHATHAM, GRAFTON.	Bridgewater Canal. Battle of Buxar; Hargreave's Spinning Jenny. Stamp Act; Watt's Steam Engine. Stamp Act repealed. Cook's First Voyage to Australia.	SEVEN YEARS 1760 1761 1762 1763 1764 1765 1766 1767 1768 1770 • • 1773 • 1775 1776 • 1778 1779 1780 • 1782 1783 1784 • • • 1788	Catherine II reigns in Russia. WAR. First Partition of Poland. Accession of Louis XVI. INDUSTRY. France joins America. Spain joins France. Holland joins France. Death of Maria Theresa.	• 1762 • • • • • • • • • • 1772 • 1774 • • • 1778 1779 1780 • • • • • • 1786 • •
	1770-82	Warren Hastings Governor of India (till 1785). American Colonies declare Independence. Death of Chatham. Crompton's "Mule".	AMERICAN WAR OF 1775 1776 • 1778 1779 1780 • 1782 1783 1784 • • • 1788		
	LORD NORTH.	Independence of Irish Parliament. Pitt's India Bill.			
	ROCKINGHAM, SHELBOURNE, PORTLAND.	Trial of Warren Hastings.			
	1783-1801				
	PITT.				

George III.

Sovereign.	Prime Minister.	Great and Greater Britain.	Dates.	Foreign Powers.	Dates.
George III.	1783-1801	Formation of Upper and Lower Canada.	• 1791	French Revolution begins.	1789 •
	PITT.	Suspension of Habeas Corpus Act.	1793	French Republic set up. Execution of Louis XVI.	1792 1793
		Death of Burke. Marquis Wellesley Governor of India. Union with Ireland.	1795 1797 1798	Rule of Directory in France.	1795 • • •
		IRISH REBELLION.	1800 1801 1802	Napoleon becomes First Consul. Alexander I reigns in Russia.	1799 1801 •
	ADDINGTON. PITT.	FRENCH REVOLUTIONARY WAR.	1803 1804	Napoleon proclaimed Emperor. End of Holy Roman Empire.	1804 1806 • • • •
	GRENVILLE. PORTLAND. PERCEVAL.		1806 1807 1808	WAR.	Congress of Vienna. Restoration of Louis XVIII.
	1812-27 LIVERPOOL.		• • •		
		1812 1814 1815			
		WAR WITH U.S.A.			
		PENIN- SULAR WAR.			
		NAPOLÉONIC			

CHIEF EVENTS, 1815-1921

Sovereign.	Prime Minister.	Great and Greater Britain.	Dates	Other Powers.	Dates.
George III.	1812-27	Battle of Waterloo; Lord Hastings in India, 1814-21	1815	Treaty of Paris; Louis XVIII King of France.	1815
	LIVERPOOL.	Occupation of Singapore; "Six Acts".	1819	Revolutions in Spain and Naples.	1820
George IV.		Liverpool's Ministry re-constructed.	1821	Death of Napoleon I.	1821
			1822		1824
William IV.	CANNING. GODERICH. WELLINGTON.	Battle of Navarino.	1827	Charles X becomes King of France.	1827
	GREY.	Catholic Emancipation Act.	1829	Nicholas becomes Czar	1825
Queen Victoria.	MELBOURNE. PEEL.	Manchester and Liverpool Railway.	1830	Revolutions in France and Belgium; Louis Philippe King of the French.	1830
	MELBOURNE.	First Reform Bill.	1832		
		Abolition of Slavery in British dominions.	1833		
		Reform of Poor-Law.	1834		
		Municipal Reform Act.	1835		
		South Australia Colonized; the "Great Trek".	1836		
		Rebellion in Canada.	1837		
		Lord Durham sent to Canada; <i>Great Western</i> crosses Atlantic.	1838		
		First Afghan War.	1839		
		Annexation of New Zealand; Penny Postage introduced.	1840	Alliance against Mehemet Ali.	1840
		Chinese cede Hong-Kong.	1841		
	1841-6 PEEL.	The Disruption in Scottish Church.	1843		
		Repeal of Corn Laws.	1846	Spanish Marriage Question.	1846

Sovereign	Prime Minister.	Great and Greater Britain.	Dates.	Other Powers.	Dates.
	1846-52 LORD JOHN RUSSELL.	Chartist Riots; Dalhousie Gov.-Gen. of India (till 1856); Second Sikh War; Anæsthetics introduced.	1848	The Year of Revolutions.	1848
	DERRY.	The Great Exhibition.	1851 1852	Louis Napoleon's <i>coup d'état</i> . Louis Napoleon becomes Emperor Napoleon III.	1851 1852
	ABERDEEN.		1854 1855 1856	WAR. Alexander II becomes Czar.	1855
	PALMERSTON.	Second Chinese War. Formation of Volunteers. Darwin's <i>Origin of Species</i> .	1857 1858 1859	War of Italian Unity (1859-61).	1859 1860
	DERRY.	Death of Prince Consort.	1861 1862	AMERICAN CIVIL WAR. Bismarck becomes Chief Minister in Prussia.	1862
	PALMERSTON.		1865	Austro-Prussian War.	1866
	RUSSELL. DERRY. DISRAELI.	Dominion of Canada formed; Second Reform Bill. Irish Church Disestablished. First Irish Land Act; Education Act.	1867 1868 1869 1870	Opening of Suez Canal. Franco-Prussian War (1870-71); Republic in France; Formation of Empire of Germany.	1869 1870 1871
	1868-74 GLADSTONE.		1874		
	1874-80 DISRAELI	Queen becomes Empress of India. Second Afghan War. Zulu War.	1876 1877 1878 1879 1880 1881 1882	The Bulgarian Atrocities Russo-Turkish War. Treaty of Berlin.	1876 1877 1878
	1880-5 GLADSTONE.	First Boer War Bombardment of Alexandria, and Battle of Tel-el-Kebir.	1884 1885 1886	Alexander III becomes Czar.	1881
	SALISBURY GLADSTONE	Third Reform Bill. "Grab for Africa" begins. Annexation of Upper Burma, Fall of Khartoum. First Home Rule Bill.	1884 1885 1886	The "Grab for Africa" begins.	1884

Queen Victoria.

CHIEF EVENTS, 1815-1921 (Continued)

Sovereign.	Prime Minister.	Great and Greater Britain.	Dates.	Other Powers.	Dates.
Queen Victoria.	1886-92 SALISBURY.	Local Government Act.	1888 . . 1892 . 1895 .	William II German Emperor. Fall of Bismarck.	1888 1890 . . 1894 . . .
	1895-1902 SALISBURY.	The "Diamond Jubilee" of Queen Victoria. Re-conquest of Soudan. Federation of Australia.	1897 1898 1899 1900 1901 1902 1903 1904 1905 .	Nicholas II becomes Czar. Peace Conference at the Hague.	1899 1904
	BALFOUR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN.	Anglo-French Agreement. Anglo-Japanese Treaty. Anglo-Russian Convention.	1907 1908 1909 1910 1911 1914 .	Russo-Japanese War, 1904-5. Portugal becomes Republic.	1904 1910 .
	Asquith.	Union of South Africa; Indian Councils Act. Parliament Act. Britain declares War on Germany.	1912 1914 . . 1918 1919 . 1920 . 1921	WAR. Assassination of Archduke Francis Ferdinand. Germany declares War on Russia and France. Germany enters Belgium. Italy declares War on Austria. United States of America declares War on Germany.	1914 . . 1915 1917 . .
George V.		Armistice. Representation of People and Education Acts. Peace Treaty signed. Government of India Act. Peace Treaty ratified. Irish Home Rule Act. Great Coal Strike.			
Edward VII.					
LLOYD GEORGE					

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